

# IN THESE TIMES



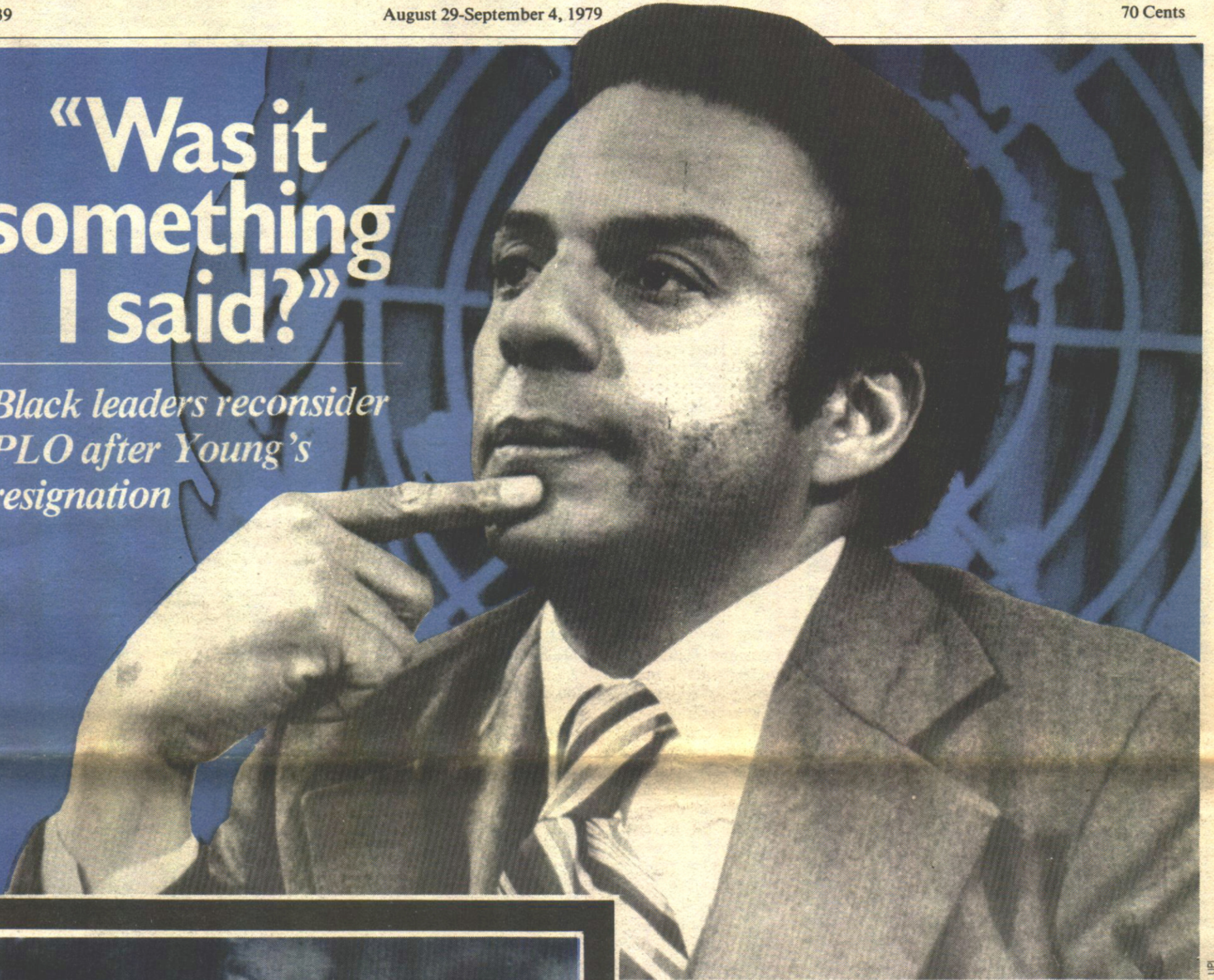
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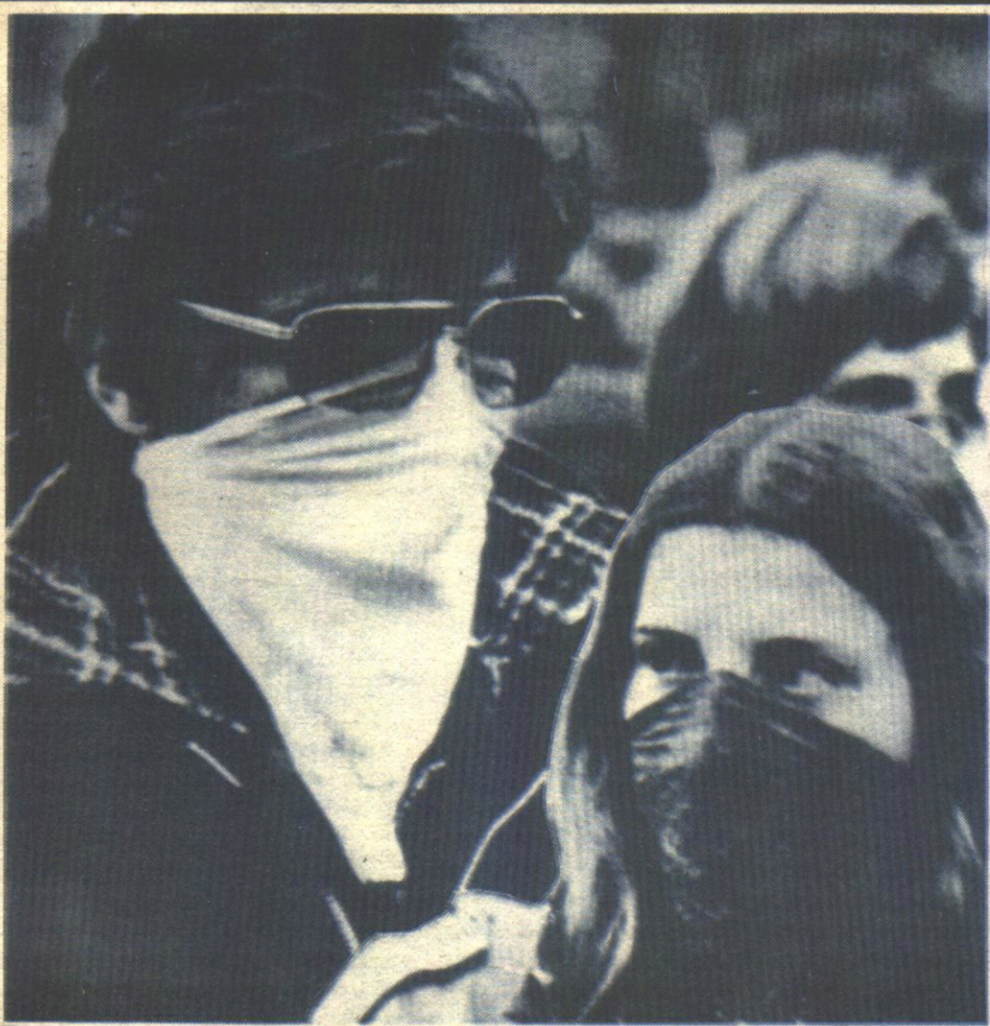
## “Was it something I said?”

*Black leaders reconsider PLO after Young's resignation*



## ITALY'S ULTRA LEFT

*Diana Johnstone  
reports from Rome*





# THE INSIDE STORY



Heather Booth is director of Midwest Academy.

## A left majority for the '80s

Heather Booth, director of the Midwest Academy and executive director of the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, spoke Aug. 3 at the fifth annual Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies at Bryn Mawr, Pa. This is an edited version of her speech.

Corporations create inflation. But more than that—the energy corporations are about to create, with the help of Congress and the President, the most massive redistribution of wealth in our lifetime and in our country's history, and in the wrong direction.

The current struggle over our energy policy is the struggle over control of our pocketbooks, our economy, our political influence and in basic ways of our lives. The congressional move to decontrol oil prices and subsidize synthetic fuels will create the greatest transfer of income ever contemplated in the history of our country.

Decontrol is simple—it means the oil companies can price their oil to the level set by the OPEC cartel. If OPEC were not to raise its price from the current average level of about \$20.12 a barrel, decontrol would cost consumers \$135 billion by 1985. This was the cost of the Vietnam War which began our inflation spiral. You can't have guns and butter, and you can't have increased corporate domination and even maintain our current levels of social spending. If OPEC increases its prices to its own \$23.50 ceiling this year, and then increases prices at 8.5 percent each year, decontrol will cost \$209 billion by 1985.

The windfall profits tax as proposed by Carter, would have taken away 11 percent of the windfalls he created by decontrolling oil prices. The tax was strengthened by the House so that it would now take away about 40 percent.

With 40 percent of the windfall, the Administration proposed to do a number of things, including:

- Three new tax credits for the oil companies, adding \$2 billion to the companies' coffers.
- Pricing incentive for natural gas which will double the price to \$33 a barrel for unconventional natural gas.
- And the key is a new energy security corporation that will channel \$88 billion back to the energy corporations to develop synthetic fuels.

So the Administration's energy policy works like a Rube Goldberg Machine. The President decontrolled

oil prices; decontrol forces us to give our money to the oil companies; the windfall profits tax collects 40 percent of our money; the energy security fund uses our money to establish the energy security corporation, and the energy security corporation funnels our money back to the oil companies. It's a convoluted scheme, but it amounts to a government-run corporate subsidy for synfuels.

These policies will force us faster into recession. Yesterday Jimmy Carter called this recession merely an "energy spasm." Millions are expected to be laid-off from energy-related price increases by next year because the cost of consumer goods (dependent on energy) has gone out of reach of millions of people. Any progressive tax fight or demand for greater social spending at the state and local level will run head-on into the issue of job loss and corporate relocation, because of the increased energy-spurred-on inflation-recession cycle.

I come not just to describe the problem, but to indicate the unfolding struggle and renewed potential for organizing around it. As we close this decade, the last annual meeting of this conference in the '70s, we are heading, I believe, into a new period of political activity, as distinct from the '70s as was the '70s from the '60s.

In the '60s we were building movements of different minority sectors of the society—Blacks, students, women (a numerical majority, but mobilized as a minority sector), environmentalists, Latinos, Indians. In a period of economic growth, militant protests got results and activity was spurred on in part by analysis and consciousness raising.

In the '70s expose and analysis further confirmed "the system" as corrupt, but a sense of despair and frustrations reigned. You can't do anything about it. The corporations regrouped to regain the offensive, while the explicit left deteriorated.

In a period which saw the beginning of economic stagnation, each sector of the movements of the '60s found itself pitted against the other social groups for limited resources. All but the women's movement fell into disarray as the promises they held out went unfulfilled and they reached the limits of political influence. Veteran activists who didn't give up, joined by a new generation of activists, have built institutions—the plodding, dull, more cautious job of organizing—organizations, policy centers, labor unions, community and constituency based organizations.

We have dug in—rooted in local and state organizations and politics, to provide an impact over a more understandable manageable unity, to increase people's sense of their own power and control and their ability to win victories.

A new decade is beginning and I think it is likely that based on the detailed work of the last 10 years, in the face of the economic crisis of the coming 10, we are about to see activity re-emerge with an impact far greater than the '60s.

While the movements of the '60s were minority sector movements, we are now seeing majoritarian, multi-sector and working class-based unrest.

We face the possibility of more substantial alliance and a most optimistic opening for serious political realignment on domestic issues. Three-fourths of the American public correctly believes that gasoline shortage was phony. Seventy-eight percent oppose decontrol of oil prices by Gallup Poll. The issues are not too complex, they are understood at the core.

I'm optimistic, but not because we are winning. We are obviously losing on most substantial pieces of legislation from Labor Law Reform to National Health, Full Employment, to state and local progressive tax fights, to county welfare supplements to attempting to expand mass transit.

We know defeat so well, while we work so hard, that

we redefine every loss to find victory. But this defeat has nearly brought us to our senses so groups once competing may now be uniting. We also have built substantial local organizations—gaining strength and achieving victories at state and local levels—Massachusetts Fair Share, Illinois Public Action Council, Ohio Public Interest Coalition, to name a few.

The problems of one community, city, or state must be addressed from that locale, that base—but as we all know its problems do not begin there and can't really be resolved at that level. They are made not only in the state of nation's capitol, but also on Wall Street and in boardrooms across the country and the world.

Overall, I think we need to look for opportunities to:

- Build our local organizations as we have been to find deep roots to last and to involve people,
- Address issues that improve people's lives—but in such a way so as to increase their sense of power, looking for the fury and anger to mobilize,
- Find ways to link the levels of organization and political work, across areas of expertise and constituencies, and
- Increasingly focus on the anti-corporate and economic issues, getting to the heart of the pending fight over who profits and who pays and move for a progressive redistribution of wealth.

The current campaign of the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition and the Progressive Alliance allows us to move on these principles and provides a way to organize based on the analyses so well developed. Not only is it possible to move from the analysis to action, but we must also move on these issues as part of the growing fight for the future of political control in the country. It's the kind of struggle only possible now, based on the organizational work of the last 10 years.

On Sept. 4, in Washington, D.C. we will announce a massive campaign to stop the oil profiteers. Our demands are:

- Reimpose price controls on heating oil and crude oil,
- Open the books, insure adequate allocation and production, and prosecute to stop phony shortages,
- Create an American energy corporation to drill and produce and distribute energy at an affordable price—using a yardstick model,
- And Longterm—
- Enact measures to encourage massive conservation, weatherization, and renewable energy development,
- Break up the oil monopolies,
- Establish a government importing authority to negotiate directly with OPEC.

It will build, through diverse coalition planning groups to a day of outrage on Oct. 17 to stop Big Oil and lower energy prices.

Some of the activity will be individual—wear a consumer stop sign, turn on your lights, stop on the road, hold a rally, hold steward meetings.

Some will be focused by the nature of the group. The Machinists hope to hit one-half of the congressional districts in the country giving their Congresspeople a warning. The NEA hopes to hold teach-ins and do educational work on energy and these demands. (It is now housing the mobilization headquarters in D.C.)

Several church groups plan to hold prayer meetings in church and then at the corporations' headquarters. Senior citizen groups are discussing holding sit-ins at oil refineries.

There'll probably be a demonstration at the American Petroleum Institute in D.C.—the lobby arm of the industry to stop the lobbyists from politicking that day.

Millions will fill out a Big Oil Discredit Card, which demands that Congress pass legislation supporting the citizens' energy program.

We can now provide a focused experiment with new unity and prepare for the next decade of progressive public policy and social struggle to obtain it. ■

IN THESE TIMES

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### ART

Tom Greensfelder, Director; Jessie Bunn, Associate Director; Dolores Wilber, Assistant Director; Jim Rinnert, Ann Barnds, Composition; Pam Rice, Camera; Ken Firestone, Photographer.

### BUREAUS

SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St. Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404) 881-1689.

NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638.

BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 8 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617) 738-9707.

CALIFORNIA: Larry Remer, 3609 4th St., San Diego, CA 92103, (714) 225-1128.

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IN THESE TIMES

# PLO issue splits Carter camp

By Patrick Lacefield

NEW YORK

**A**NDREW YOUNG'S TENURE as the United States Ambassador to the United Nations had been charmed. Like a cat with nine lives he had survived conservative outrage over his assertion that the Cubans "were a stabilizing force in Africa," his characterization of Presidents Nixon and Ford as "racists" and Administration embarrassment over his admission to a French journalist that there were "hundreds, perhaps thousands" of political prisoners in the U.S. His free-speaking, blunt, sometimes naive avoidance of diplomatic linguistics and behaviour modes roused the ire of the white minority regime in South Africa, earned the praise of much of the Third World and restored some semblance of credibility for the U.S. in the underdeveloped world.

In the end, however, it was not African concerns that caused Andrew Young to tender his resignation on Aug. 15 but rather the shifting sands of U.S. foreign policy towards the Palestinians stemming from an impasse in the Camp David peace effort.

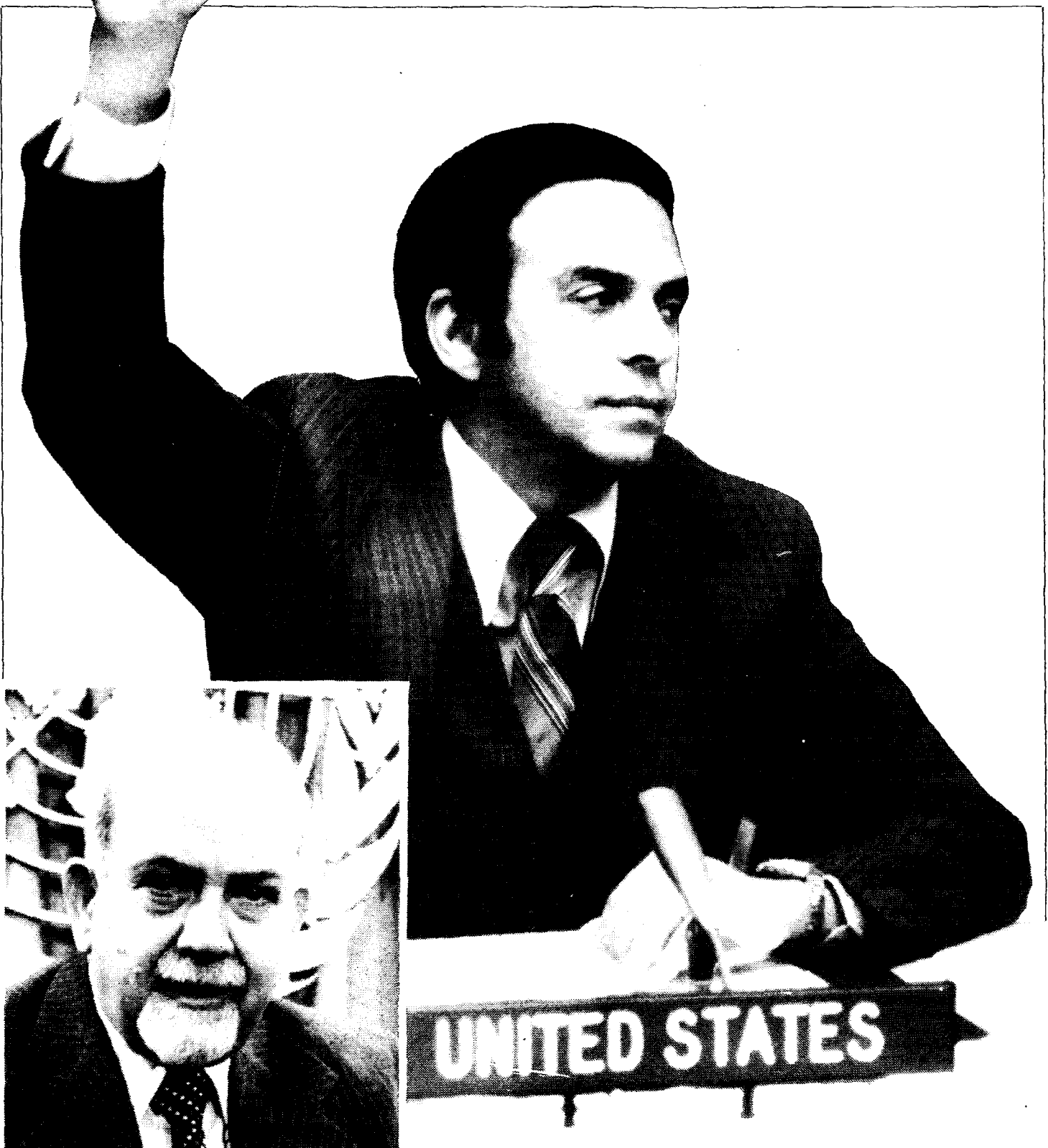
The furor that led to Andrew Young's resignation under fire began on July 26 with a meeting that Young paid to the Manhattan townhouse of Ambassador Abdulla Yacoub Bishara of Kuwait.

The Arab block in the UN was pressing for a Security Council vote on a resolution recognizing the right of the Palestinians to a separate and independent state and Young, who would be presiding over the Security Council during August, sought a postponement of the vote.

Young explained to ambassadors Bishara and El Choufi of Syria and to Palestine Liberation Organization observer Zehdi Labab Terzi his reasoning and departed. On July 30, the Arab nations agreed to postpone the debate until Aug. 23. Later, on Aug. 11, *Newsweek* magazine, acting on information from Israeli government sources, asked Young and the State Department whether a meeting took place. Young at first indicated it was only a "chance encounter," only to reverse himself the next day and admit that he expected to meet the PLO representative at Ambassador Bishara's residence. The Israelis, against Young's advice, lodged a formal protest, charging that Young's meeting with the PLO violated a U.S. pledge never to recognize or negotiate with the organization. In the ensuing controversy over his meeting and alleged failure to inform the State Department of the true nature of the encounter, Young resigned as ambassador.

Did Young resign because he held a "substantive" meeting with the PLO or because he shaded the truth in informing the State Department? "Answering that question wouldn't serve any purpose" was Carter press secretary Jody Powell's response the day after the resignation. In the days that followed, however, the administration seemed to imply that Young's failure to tell the truth, not his contact with the PLO, was the reason for his dismissal. This fueled Israeli suspicions that the encounter was part and parcel of what Israeli foreign minister Yigal Yadin called "an accommodation with the PLO."

Young, in response to the State Department rationale, revealed that on the day he resigned he saw an almost verbatim report of his meeting with the PLO's Terzi circulating at the highest levels of the State Department and dated July 30. "I had not planned to say anything about it," he explained, "but when folks at the State Department started putting out the word that I resigned because I lied, that got to be too much." Now that report came to be still a mystery, though



Andrew Young's meeting with PLO observer, Zehdi Terzi, inset, precipitated the events that led to Young's resignation.

the *Atlanta Constitution* reported on Aug. 17 that Young's meeting with the PLO had been bugged by Israeli intelligence. Another Israeli source suggested that Israeli interception of a PLO communication on the encounter was more likely, notwithstanding fervent denials by the Israelis of any knowledge of the meeting prior to Andrew Young's meeting with the Israeli ambassador on Aug. 12.

The reaction to Young's resignation by black leaders was fast and furious, despite the Ambassador's efforts to deflect criticism from President Carter and the American Jewish community by insisting that "the resignation was my idea" and warning that the issue was not one of "black versus Jew." Reverend Jesse Jackson, in an address to the annual conference of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—of which Young was a leader before his election to Congress in 1972—asked whether "Andy Young was a fall guy in a shifting policy." Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, expressed the opinion that Young should not be made "a sacrificial lamb for circumstances beyond his control."

Moreover, as Young warned the Israelis would happen, the forced resignation appears to be driving black leaders to reassess their previously uncritical support for the Israeli position in the Middle East. When SCLC president Rev. Joseph Lowery announced his intention to meet with both the PLO and the Israelis in the wake of the resignation, the American Jewish response was summed

up by Theodore Mann, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations. "I think that's very unfortunate," Mann said of the meeting with the PLO's Terzi. "I find it difficult to understand what the SCLC could have in common with the number one terrorist organization in the world." Lowery emerged from the meeting on Aug. 20 to affirm the support of the SCLC for "human rights for the Palestinians, including the right of self-determination." Still other black leaders spoke of reevaluating relations between the two major elements of the liberal Democratic urban coalition that have fought together on issues ranging from civil rights to higher education and opposition to the war in Vietnam. "Lately, though," explained Jesse Jackson "we have been on different sides of affirmative action, Israeli recognition of South Africa and the firing of Andy Young. And the truth is that a pro-peace position in the Middle East requires the recognition of the PLO." Young himself, in a television interview on Aug. 19, characterized the Israeli government as "stubborn and intransigent."

The harsh reaction against the state of Israel brought on by Young's departure caught many Jewish leaders by surprise. "Most Jewish organizations feel that Ambassador Young's firing was inappropriate because he was carrying out implicit State Department policy and the Jewish community's complaint is with that policy," argued Mann. "More serious than Andy Young's indiscretions and deceptions," said Howard Squadron of

the American Jewish Committee, "is the fundamental uncertainty of where this country stands."

The Israelis and the bulk of the American Jewish community refer pointedly to the commitment made by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on Sept. 1, 1975 following the Israeli-Egyptian Sinai disengagement accord that the U.S. would never "recognize or negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization." They see in Young's action a pattern of increasing accommodation with the PLO: contacts with PLO representatives in Vienna by U.S. Ambassador Milton Wolf, and President Carter's recent dinner-table comment that compared the Palestinian cause to the American civil rights movement.

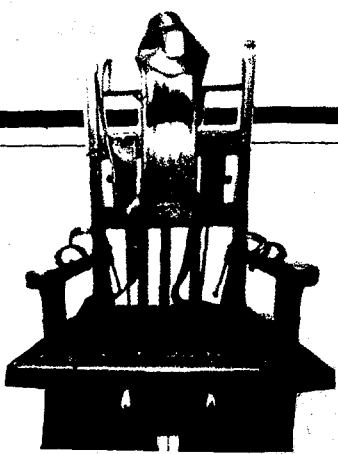
"The problem," states Allan Solomonow, director of the Middle East Peace Project in New York who has held extensive discussions with State Department and PLO representatives, "is that Israel interprets the U.S. commitment to the survival of Israel as always doing what Israel wants. Israel entered Camp David hoping it could finesse the Palestinian question, but the U.S. now realizes that a political settlement hinges on the Palestinians, meaning the PLO."

Solomonow and others in the Jewish community view the Kissinger commitment on contacts with the PLO as deliberately ambiguous and certainly not extending to procedural contacts such as Young had. "I know of no one in the Department of State that views the question as literally as the Israeli government,"

*Continued on page 18.*



# IN SHORT



## Mass. passes death penalty

Massachusetts Governor Edward J. King signed legislation last week reinstating capital punishment. Certain to be challenged before the State Supreme Court, the law allows the death penalty for murderers found guilty of committing their crimes under 12 specific sets of circumstances.

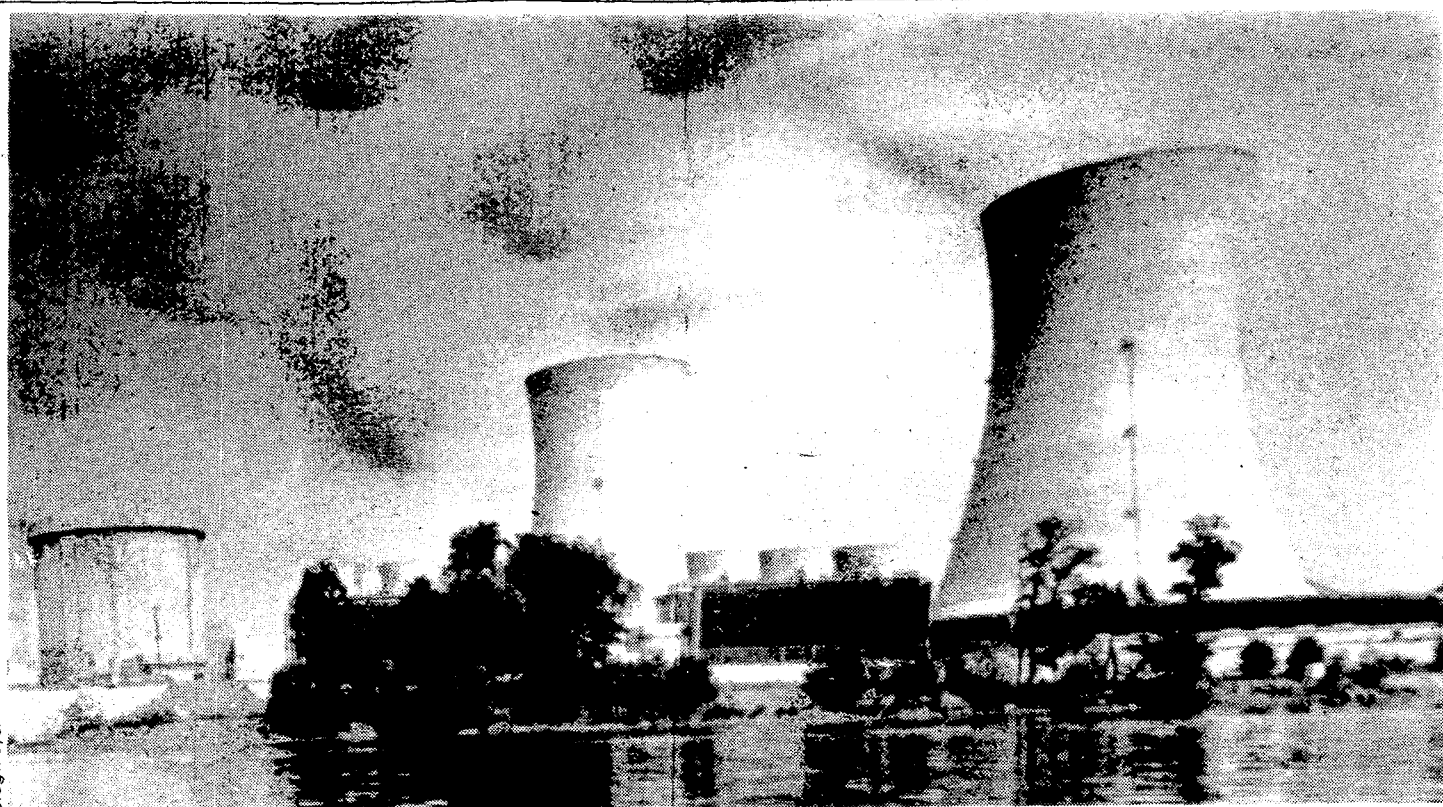
The death penalty is prescribed for hired killers and the people who hire them; persons who kill firefighters, police, kidnap or rape victims and murderers who have previously been convicted for the crime of murder.

"All you have to do is read the list of crimes for which the death sentence is called for," said King, adding, "I think they deserve it."

Because the bill expresses the legislature's belief that the law will be a deterrent to such a serious crime, King believes the law will pass the constitutional test.

An expert in constitutional law, Prof. Alan M. Dershowitz, of the Harvard Law School, disagrees. Dershowitz termed the provision "frivolous" and said "You can't legislate facts."

In attacking other aspects of the law, Dershowitz says that the provisions permitting the state to execute murderers whose crimes endanger large numbers of people apply the death penalty unevenly.



Greg Meyer

## Three Mile Island to vent gas

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) gave preliminary approval last week for use of machinery to filter out radioactive debris (500,000 gallons of dangerously radioactive water and gases) from the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant as a first step to putting the plant back in operation by 1983.

The plant has been shut down since March 28.

Officials of Metropolitan Edison Com-

pany, operator of the plant, favor a plan to release into the atmosphere "safe" amounts of radioactive gases beginning this fall as part of the \$400 million clean-up program.

Subject to public comment and official approval, both plans would have an "absolutely minimal effect on public health" says Jack Thomas, an official of the utility.

The utility proposed four alternatives

for cleaning up the disabled reactor in a study submitted by the Bechtel Power Corporation to NRC officials.

In defense of the plan to release gas into the atmosphere rather than storing it in tanks, officials cited the threat of leaks, accidents and possible radioactive exposure to plant workers.

Thomas said the utility is considering converting Three Mile Island into a coal or oil burning plant.

## Guns into butter, nukes into pans

Why bury a decommissioned nuke when it can be recycled into plumbing, wiring and frying pans?

That's the premise of an Oak Ridge National Laboratory report to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission on the suitability of "radioactively contaminated" scrap copper, brass, iron, steel and other

materials for home use after a profitable turnover by smelters.

In a section titled Radiation Exposure Scenarios of the report, experts show a "housewife" using two cast iron pans, with calculations indicating she could expect each family member to "ingest 0.04 grams per year of contaminated iron."

The report, published in December 1978, was questioned by Catherine Quigg of the Chicago-area Pollution and Environmental Problems, Inc., at a recent Department of Energy hearing.

Quigg said her question was ducked

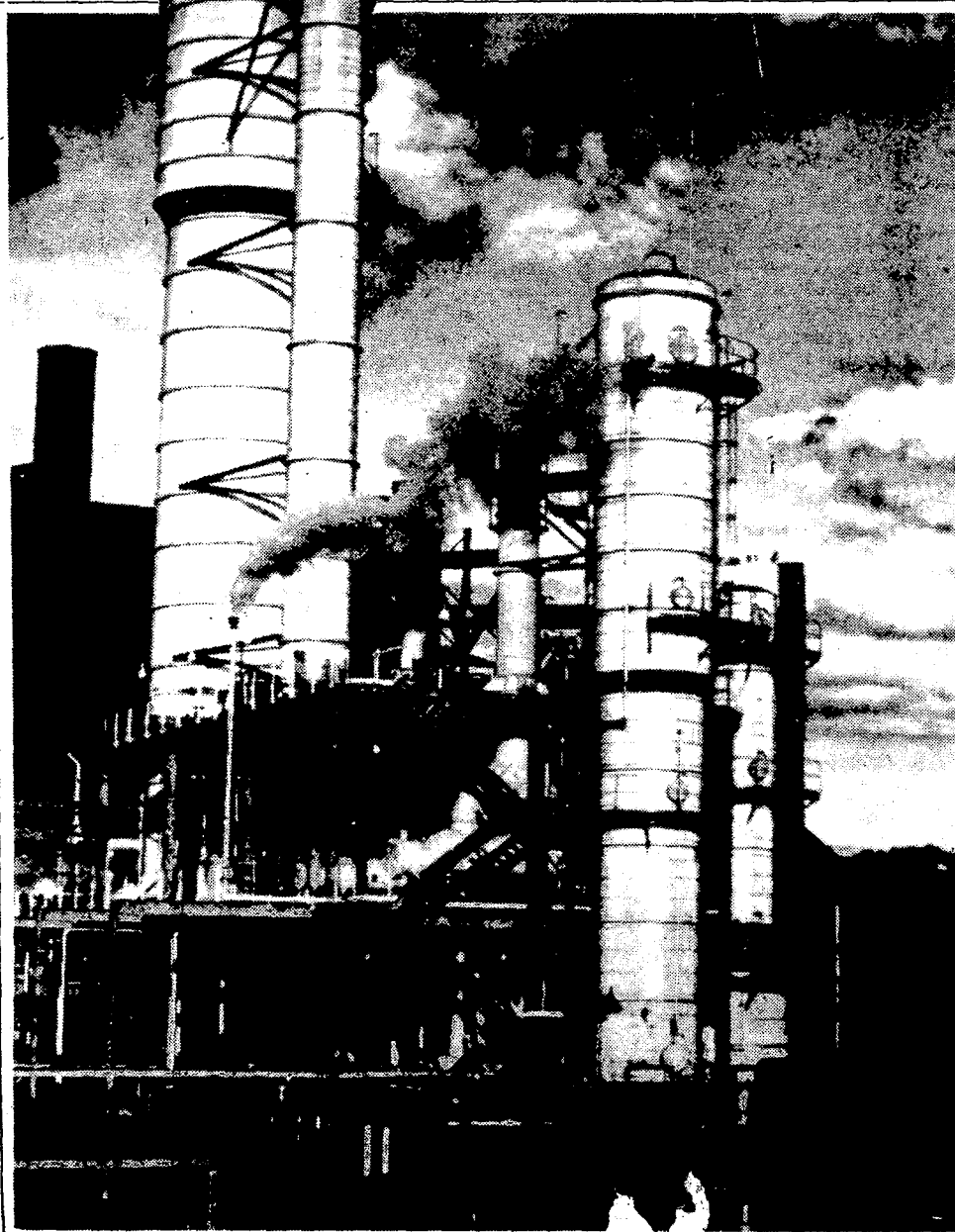
after "some nervous paper shuffling" by government representatives.

The group also challenged the use of radioactive Cesium-137 in the treatment of sewage sludge.

"I suppose there would be one advantage to a radioactive frying pan," Quigg said. "You'd be able to conserve energy—it would be hot all by itself, without even turning on the stove."

—Al DiFranco

IN SHORT is written by Laura Cianci unless otherwise indicated.



## Tony Mazzocchi loses OCAW election bid

HOLLYWOOD, FLA.—Tony Mazzocchi was narrowly defeated in the Aug. 17 election for president of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW) of the Afl-CIO. Mazzocchi lost to fellow International Vice-President Robert F. Goss by 83,618 to 80,485 at the union's convention in Hollywood, Florida.

Mazzocchi, who achieved national recognition for OCAW on occupational health and safety issues, was able to win substantial support through a campaign that called for reinvigorating OCAW and the labor movement. Mazzocchi called for formation of a labor party and for greater efforts in organizing new workers and building wider coalitions.

Goss ran a campaign focused on continuance of the union's programs and emphasized traditional collective bargaining approaches, saying that "success lies with people who do basic things better."

The vote was very close, one large local could have changed the outcome. Mazzocchi, however, refused to promise jobs to prospective supporters on the eve of the election. The decision not to promise a job for a powerful staff representative in the union's southeastern district in return for support may have turned back Mazzocchi's presidential bid.

Mazzocchi and the winner Goss were both vice-presidents of OCAW. Mazzocchi

was formerly legislative director and president of a local at Long Island, N.Y., where he became involved in the 1950s in nuclear test ban and environmental health activities. Goss was assistant to OCAW President Al Grospiron, and spent many years in Africa and Latin America working with developing unions.

It will take time for any change in OCAW's direction to become apparent. Ernest Rouselle, a staff representative from Louisiana who was on the Mazzocchi slate, won the vice presidency and can be expected to push for aggressive union positions on organizing, health and safety, and coalitions with other organizations. L. Calvin Moore, a Goss supporter and Legislative Director, was elected to the other vice presidency.

He is the first black international officer in OCAW.

While the Florida convention focused primarily on the election, the delegates also took up the issue of Canadian identity. The delegates voted to grant the OCAW Canadian district autonomy, which would allow a new oil and chemical workers union in Canada to reach out to chemical and oil workers that are organized but isolated in other unions.

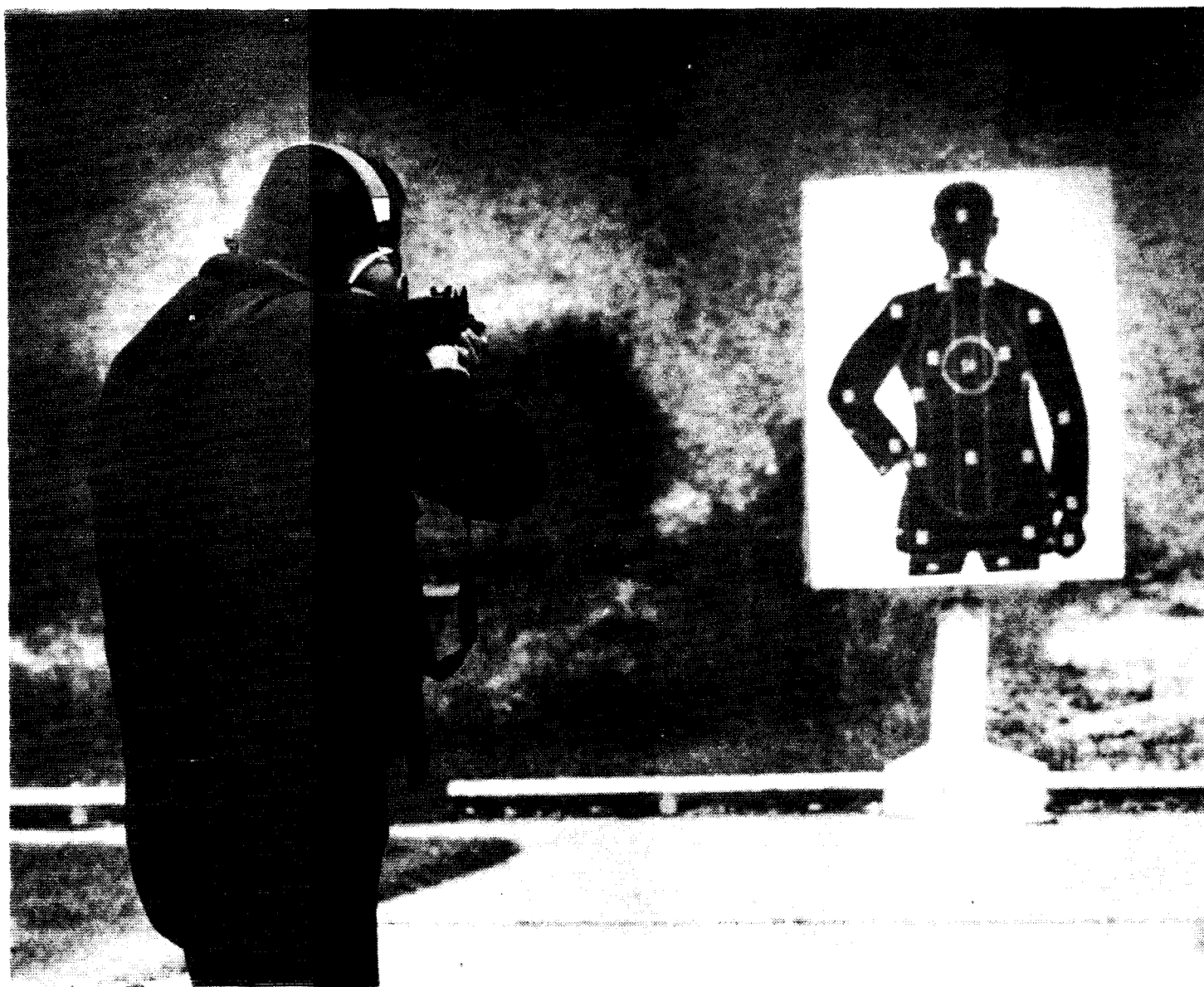
An analysis of campaign issues, why Mazzocchi lost, and the future of OCAW will appear in the next issue of ITT.

—Rick Engler



# IN THE NATION

## LAW AND ORDER



Philadelphia's Police Department has been indicted by the federal government for interfering with citizens' rights.

# Philadelphia sued for Police practices

By Greg Moyer

PHILADELPHIA

**T**HIS SATURDAY MORNING TWO dozen young people—nearly all black—are huddled around a life-size target during a tour of the Philadelphia Police Academy rifle range.

One teenager runs his fingers over the shredded cardboard and says, "See how this paper is torn? These bullets are made to tear the insides out of you."

Street wisdom like that could not have made the headlines of the week any easier for this young person to accept. He read—along with the rest of Philadelphia—that a 25-year-old, white, rookie cop was found innocent of murdering a handcuffed prisoner who escaped the officer's custody last Sept. 23.

Cornell Warren, the 20-year-old black victim, was arrested that night last fall for allegedly driving recklessly through a South Philadelphia housing project. According to the testimony in the four and a half week trial, Warren then was taken downtown for identification and fingerprinting by officer Thomas S. Rowe and his partner.

When Rowe opened the door of the police van, the handcuffed Warren tried to flee. After a block-long chase Rowe caught Warren and started to walk him back to headquarters. Suddenly the prisoner spun around and caused both men to fall to the ground.

A witness for the prosecution said she saw Rowe hit Warren, kick him twice in the abdomen, then drop to his knees and shoot the suspect in the head. The defense argued that the firing was accidental. Cornell Warren died 18 days later.

The dramatic acquittal came on the heels of an unprecedented federal suit filed against the mayor and the Philadel-

City officials defended the Police Department saying 'It's a damn good record. In fact, it's the best record in the United States.'



phia Police Department charging them with condoning systematic and widespread lawlessness among the men in blue.

U.S. Assistant Attorney General Drew S. Days, III, head of the Justice Department's civil rights division, said the legal action is meant to force institutional changes that will protect citizens—especially members of the black and hispanic communities—from unbridled police power. He noted that minorities suffer a higher proportion of reported abuses than Philadelphians as a whole.

The civil suit made history. Never before had the federal government asked the federal judiciary to stop local governments from interfering with the constitutional rights of their citizens. Besides the legal precedent, \$589,000 in federal funds for 1979 from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) are at stake. Payment of those dollars as well as consideration of other funding proposals is suspended.

In brief the federal government charged Mayor Frank L. Rizzo and 19 other city officials with:

- fragmenting the process of handling

citizens' complaints about police behavior.

- short-circuiting investigations into instances of police abuse by discussing conclusions with the officers involved.
- physically harming prisoners.
- shooting suspects who pose no immediate danger to the safety of police officers or others.
- impeding investigations of police brutality by federal and state bodies.
- failing to discipline officers for abusing citizens.
- harassing critics of the police department with surveillance.

At a news conference, Mayor Rizzo called the suit "hogwash." The mayor, who rose through the ranks of the police department until he became its commissioner in 1967, charged the Justice officials with bringing the suit to bolster the Carter administration at a time when the President's stock in the black community is low.

Rizzo, who failed last year to rewrite the city charter to permit his running for a third term, told reporters "that for the time I'm mayor, nobody but nobody is going to take advantage of this great po-

lice department."

But for now, Mayor Rizzo still holds the spotlight. He offered the press some of the characteristic rhetoric that lifted the burly cop to the mayor's office twice in the last decade.

"Who are the victims?" Rizzo bellowed. "The police department isn't the victim...it's the people who are the victims, the people who live in the cities, in captivity, barricaded in their homes while the criminal element preys the streets."

At fault, he continued, are the liberal reforms stretching over a generation.

"The social experimenters took over and said we didn't need the death penalty. 'Oh, it's cruel and barbaric,' they said. No mention of the barbarism of the criminals upon the citizens of the city and the country."

He concluded, "You could end the crime wave overnight, if we had the death penalty."

Earl Trent, council for the Philadelphia chapters of the NAACP, has charted the increase in the number of brutality cases since Mayor Rizzo's early days as police commissioner.

"I'm afraid the Bowe verdict will be interpreted by the ordinary policeman as a license to shoot," Trent said.

"A new mayor can make it clear that he will not tolerate police abuse of the citizens, but it will take time. The attitudes are so ingrained," Trent said.

Anthony Jackson, director of the Police Project for the Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia, agreed that the problem is deep-rooted. Jackson claims that nearly 50 per cent of the shooting by police—and the Justice Department estimates that the cops shoot 75 people a year—are in violation of Pennsylvania law.

"Nearly half the victims are not engaged in forcible felonies or threatening the serious harm of an officer or others," Jackson said.

He produced a study which shows that fully 75 persons shot by the police within the last nine years were not engaged in violent felonies and were actually fleeing the scene at the time of the gunfire. These 75 cases, Jackson says, are but the tip of the iceberg.

The city counters these statistics with some of its own. At the press conference city solicitor Sheldon Albert said that of the 77 cases recently investigated by a federal grand jury looking into the extent of police abuse, 75 had been closed without further court action.

"That's not a bad record," said Albert. "In fact it's a damn good record. In fact it's the best record in the United States of America."

Anthony Jackson puts a different perspective on the solicitor's numbers. Those 77 cases represent 20 or so specific incidents involving 77 officers, Jackson explained. The policemen were called before the grand jury to tell what happened. Record of the department's own internal investigations were not available to the jury members. The jurors were asked to evaluate the strength of those cases without adequate information, Jackson said.

It was a different story for the Justice Department investigators who had total access to all the police files.

"You see," Jackson concluded, "when the investigators get to the files you have a lawsuit."

Harold James and Steve Bennet both think the federal case and a new administration will help curb excesses in the police force. These two black police veterans are seated around a battered desk in a cramped room that serves as an office for the Guardian Civic League, an organization formed 23 years ago to combat discrimination against black officers.

Today Philadelphia employs about 1100 minority officers in a force of 8,000. About 800 belong to the Guardian League that long ago shed its image as a black social club to reemerge as a defender of racial and social justice.

Guardian president Harold James talks about Rizzo, the man who has done the most to shape police values.

"Rizzo projects to the ordinary officer that he is the cop's cop. He looks after his men. For many officers it increases their morale to know that a supervisor will cover for you even if you do something wrong," Jones said.

Continued on p. 18.



## LABOR

# UFW set back in Delano vote

By Sam Kushner

LOS ANGELES

**W**HILE THE UNITED FARM Workers Union appears to be scoring significant victories in the Salinas area and has won a precedent making decision from the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board, it finds itself being set back in the area where the historic farm labor struggle began 14 years ago, in Delano.

In Sept. 1975 the UFW won bargaining rights at the Caratan ranch by a better than three to one vote. Last week the ballot boxes were opened to count votes cast last September in a decertification election at the same ranch. The state Supreme Court had upheld the company's right to petition for a decertification election at any time during the last year of a multi-year contract.

Only 66 workers voted to keep the UFW as their bargaining agent, 122 voted against the union. The UFW has announced that it will challenge the outcome of the election, its first major representation defeat since it was organized. The farm labor union is now relatively weak in the area of its first organizational success. Some union representatives discount the significance of the Salinas vote and pointed to the Salinas contract as more important.

This week the UFW announced that it has achieved its second contract in the past weeks in the Salinas area. The Gonzales Packing Co., a major tomato producing grower, signed up along the same lines as did the Meyer Tomato Co.,

which broke the solid front of the growers the day the UFW had its convention in Salinas, Aug. 12.

More significant was the announcement that Sun Harvest Inc. and possibly West Coast Farms, have broken away from the consortium of 27 lettuce and vegetable growers that has held out for the past eight months against a settlement with the UFW. If these two firms come to an agreement with the UFW, it may break the back of the holdouts.

The Sun Harvest decision to reopen negotiations with the UFW came three weeks after the union launched a major boycott campaign against products of United Brands, of which Sun Harvest is a subsidiary.

Among the United Brands products being boycotted by the UFW and its supporters are Chiquita Bananas, A & W Root Beer and John Morrell Meat products. It is possible that a statement to reporters by Jim Herman, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, might have had a greater effect than the incipient boycott on United Brands and Sun Harvest. Herman told journalists that the longshoremen might refuse to load products on the boycott list. This is no idle threat. During the historic grape boycott the ILWU did refuse to load non union grapes on West Coast ships.

Chiquita bananas constitutes one fifth of the income of United Brands while Sun Harvest's lettuce crop makes up only two percent of the conglomerate's income.

Growers in Salinas have said they are "disappointed and apprehensive" over Sun Harvest's decision to go it alone, according to the *Salinas Californian*. A



Cesar Chavez addresses recent UFW convention in Salinas.

spokesman for the growers in Salinas Valley, Andrew Church, virtually conceded a UFW settlement with Sun Harvest, the largest lettuce grower in the nation. "We cannot live with a Sun Harvest patterned settlement," said Church. He said that the UFW "should realize that the rest of us don't have a bunch of vulnerable bananas."

It has been indicated that Sun Harvest and the UFW are close to agreement on economic terms but that bargaining is proceeding on non-economic issues, with the parties reportedly being not far apart. But the UFW is counting on new boycotts to bring other growers into line.

A UFW representative said the union will concentrate its efforts on boycotting Red Coach label lettuce and Toro label lettuce if the boycott has to be shifted to other firms. Bruce Church Co. produces the Red Coach Label while Growers Exchange ships the Toro label lettuce.

The common labor rate on the settled firms in Salinas is \$5 an hour and the union has also won a cost of living clause and other new contract features in the three year agreement.

Also last week the California Agricul-

tural Labor Relations Board unanimously ruled that 200 workers fired from the Ventura County Rancho Sespe citrus ranch last September be reinstated and ruled that the company cannot evict the workers from the company owned work camp.

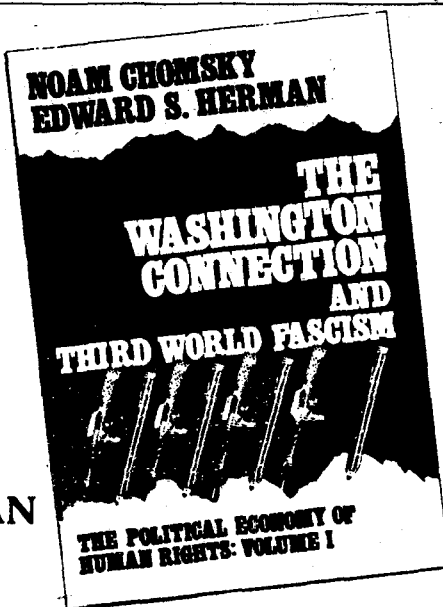
Additionally the company, which was purchased by Rivcom, must bargain with the UFW, and the workers be given back pay. The new management said it will appeal the ALRB's decision within the next month.

Rivcom bought the citrus ranch last January and fired all the workers. The previous company had been under contract with the UFW. The company argued that it was not compelled to honor a contract signed by a previous owner. The ALRB ruling established a precedent by ordering the successor firm to live up to the terms reached with the union by the previous owner.

The union has put up a militant battle and more than 100 members refused to leave the homes, which some have lived in for 20 years. Earlier the ALRB succeeded in getting an injunction against the company barring it from dismantling any of the labor camp homes.

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## LABOR

# Bargaining begins for auto industry

UAW sits down with Ford, GM and Chrysler to begin contract negotiations for next three years. Inflation, security are key issues.

By David Moberg

DETROIT

**T**HERE'S A TRADITIONAL dramatic ritual at the start of the triennial automobile contract negotiations now underway. The opening thrusts of the United Auto Workers on behalf of its 781,000 aggrieved workers at General Motors, Ford and Chrysler are parried by a shocked corporate executive citing extensive demands and outrageous costs.

So when General Motors negotiator George Morris claimed that this year the UAW produced its most extravagant proposal ever—pushing labor costs from around \$15.10 an hour (including all benefits, payroll taxes and overtime) to \$30 an hour, it is part of the ritual. The ceremonial quality is especially pronounced since the figure is so hypothetical: the union hasn't spelled out most of its proposals in any but the vaguest form.

Observers thus seek meaning in any apparent deviations from the liturgy. On the whole there appears to be more reserve and caution in the union's public statements this year. That could be read as a recognition that conditions aren't great for the union. Despite recent profitable times for Ford and GM, there is a recession coming on, there are substantial backlogs of unsold cars and there is considerable uncertainty brought on by this year's spurt in oil prices and the resulting shift in sales to small cars where imports are strong. Even if other auto workers aren't as frightened as Chrysler workers are said to be, most observers—even those who seek to mobilize worker militancy to pressure the union leadership—seem to agree that the mood is cautious this year.

Nevertheless, at the opening session of the negotiations at GM on July 16, several thousand—a bit more than usual—showed up to picket in front of the building corporate headquarters. They mainly stressed what is likely to be the hottest issue in the negotiations: some formula for cost-of-living increases in pensions.

The union's selection on August 30 of a target company, where the pattern contract will be established and where any major strike would occur, will raise the curtain on the second act. Then the serious bargaining should get underway. It will also bring an end to the traditional game of "guess-the-target." For this year are riding high on General Motors, on the theory that it's their turn.

If the target is GM, then the union's acknowledgement last week that it is seriously considering one or two-day "mini-strikes" at five GM parts plants and two assembly plants at the end of August can be seen as another indication of seriousness.

Officially these strikes would be called over local issues, including production standards at the newly organized Oklahoma City plant. The two assembly plants on the list produce variants of GM's "X-car" (such as the Chevrolet Citation) and the parts plants feed into both "X-car" and Chevrolet assembly plants. These are GM's best-selling, small, efficient cars and that's where a strike would hurt most.

UAW president Douglas Fraser has ruled out the mini-strikes, which are designed to disrupt integrated corporate operations at a minimum cost to workers, as an alternative to a full-fledged walk-out against the target company if that is needed. They were first used against GM in 1972. Although they are an imaginative

tactic and resemble actions of some European unions, many workers doubt their value.

If there is a major theme to the UAW demands this year, it is security—protection against inflation, technological changes and plant closings, discipline and continued erosion of the work force through productivity increases.

In response the corporations stressed managerial "flexibility," better discipline (especially over absenteeism), control of benefit costs and—especially from Ford—proposals that newly hired workers have lower wages, benefits and other protections for longer periods of time.

The most difficult demand to win will probably be inflation protection for pensions. "It looks like we're going to be striking to get it," says Henry Oginsky, financial secretary of the huge Buick local in Flint, Michigan, and a longtime leader in the movement for better retirement benefits.

The union has kept its pension cost-of-living proposal—reportedly offering various alternative formulas—under tight wraps. It probably does not provide complete protection against inflation, since the UAW leadership had already indicated that would be too expensive. (It is commonly estimated that such a provision would add \$2 an hour to the corporate wage bill.)

GM's negotiator Morris has firmly rejected the idea, whatever the price or formula. "Any pension plan, whether it's related to current retirees or future retirees, or both, that provides for automatic escalation of benefits is totally unacceptable to General Motors. That's a principle, it's a matter of principle and it's a principle that we in General Motors are not going to accept."

Equally firmly Oginsky insists that "we need a cost-of-living agreement so we don't keep coming back to the bargaining table" to increase pensions, which now would run around \$330 a month for an average retiree with 30 years service. Even if the protection can't be 100 percent, Oginsky insists on the principle of automatic adjustment.

The UAW also wants to increase the number of paid personal holidays in the contract and to refine the administration of the program to guarantee workers their time off with fewer restrictions. The paid personal holidays—which rose to



UAW workers picket the General Motors headquarters in Detroit prior to upcoming contract talks.

seven during the period from Sept. 1978 to June 1979—were introduced in the last contract as a way of reducing the overall work time toward the goal of the equivalent of a 30 hour week.

Arguing that wages, now averaging \$9.05 an hour, have not increased sufficiently both to keep up with inflation and to advance according to the established formula guaranteeing an annual improvement factor based on productivity increases, the union asked for its usual "substantial" wage increase and a change in the method of calculating cost-of-living increases to cover all erosion of earnings due to inflation.

Responding to concern from some of the skilled trades, the union also is proposing greater protection of workers from some of the newer computer-based and robotized technology that is expected to increase greatly in the industry in the coming years. In the stronger version of the proposal at Ford, the UAW demands that computerized machinery not be used in any way to monitor, discipline or time-study workers. Also, it wants pro-

tection against rapid displacement of workers by machinery, control of the new machinery by bargaining unit employees, advance notice of introduction of machinery, training in its use and the establishment of national union-management committee on technology and creation of an in-plant "data committeeman" to monitor new technology problems.

The union is also demanding protection against plant shutdowns and transfer of operations, including advance notice, automatic union recognition in a new plant when work is transferred, transfer rights for workers and protection of pension rights of those affected by closings.

In strong language at Ford and slightly weaker at GM, the UAW wants workers to be innocent until proven guilty in the discipline process. It has also formulated a variety of overlapping proposals to reduce overtime: making all overtime voluntary, increasing the overtime premium, accruing compensatory time off for working overtime, and eliminating overtime while workers are laid off.

Other demands include health benefit improvements, pre-paid legal services (which Chrysler has already), provisions against sexual harassment, restrictions on subcontracting, stiffer health and safety protection, automatic recognition of the UAW at new plants opened by the corporation, and redirection of pension fund investment toward socially useful ends and away from anti-union corporations or those investing in South Africa.

The full company proposals have not been offered, but they now center on tougher penalties for absenteeism, reduced benefits for new employees—who would have to "grow in" to full status, and holding the line on costs.

Although the union has a health strike fund of \$285 million that could probably last over 10 weeks in a GM strike, many observers think the union wants more than usual to avoid a strike. The last time that happened was in 1964. The UAW publicly seeks a civil confrontation, although as one union spokesman says, "We're way beyond those early days when they tried to do us in and we tried to do them in. They know the union is here to stay."

## Taking time out to write in

UAW president Douglas Fraser was cheered by the "massive participation" by most of the 1.5 million U.S. members of the union in the 5-minute "write-in" staged Aug. 22 to protest "energy rip-offs" and demand oil and gas price controls, a federal energy corporation to drill for oil on public lands, federal control of oil imports and a strong windfall profits tax.

Union members across the country took an unprecedented action in their brief, "symbolic" work stoppage to sign postcards that will be delivered to President Carter, their Senators and their representatives in Congress. "It's a healthy thing in a democracy to communicate with your representatives," he said. "I hope it's habit-forming." A nationwide citizen action along the same lines, organized largely by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, is scheduled for Oct. 17.

Carter portrayed the protest as sup-

portive of his program, but Fraser replied that the only common point was the call for a windfall profits tax. Fraser blamed the current layoffs of 70,000 auto workers on the lack of an energy program and argued that the UAW's proposals would be "as helpful to the auto industry as to auto workers."

But the companies apparently didn't see it that way and warned that they would dock workers for time taken off to sign the pre-printed cards. Fraser declined to say if the union would fight such a move, saying only that he hoped the companies wouldn't be that "stupid."

The action, unusual for U.S. unions in its use of the workplace for a political gesture, apparently was disciplined and in a few spots even got support from local shop owners or white collar workers. In Framingham, Mass., one shift of workers however "decided to extend the five minutes to the rest of the shift," Fraser said, and walked off the job. ■



## HISPANICS



New Mexico's Lt. Governor, Roberto Mondragon, serenades conference.

## Hispanics map political future

Convention delegates split over immigration policy, an issue that threatened to divide Hispanics from labor and blacks.

By Dede Feldman

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.

**A** FOUR DAY NATIONAL CONFERENCE on jobs for Hispanic Americans ended here August 2 with "The Declaration of Albuquerque," a list of recommendations and goals for Hispanics—the next decade's largest minority group.

The recommendations, hammered out by representatives from over 150 labor and Hispanic organizations, will be circulated among Hispanic groups around the country and then sent to President Carter, state and local officials.

"My advice to you is to organize, organize, organize," United Auto Worker President Douglas Fraser told the Hispanic conference, which was sponsored by the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LACLA) and the Latin American Institute at the University of New Mexico. Fraser was one of the many labor organizers, government officials and others who came to the Southwest to show their solidarity with the nearly 20 million Americans of Hispanic descent. Among the participants: the Hispanic Mayor of Miami, Mauricio Ferre, Puerto Rican Representative from the South Bronx, Bobby Garcia, New Mexico's Chicano Lt. Gov., Roberto Mondragon, and Assistant Secretary of Labor for Employment and Training Ernie Green.

Fraser's emphasis on organizing and LACLA's slogan, "Latino Power through the Union Card and the Ballot Box," was echoed by others.

"The level of political sophistication in minority communities has got to make a giant leap forward," said Green. "We've got to get on top of the appropriations process and we've got to develop a congress watch. For the most part, the telephone calls, the telegrams and the visits don't come from us."

What disturbs Green and Hispanic leaders is the apathy and underrepresentation of Hispanics at all levels of the government. At present there are only six Hispanics in Congress, and out of eight million enfranchised Hispanics only two million voted in the last national election.

According to Rep. Bobby Garcia (D-NY) the main reason for the underrepresentation is that "in the '60s and '70s we were undercounted severely." Garcia said that for Hispanics the census was the most important undertaking in terms of political power, and he urged greater Hispanic involvement with the census at the neighborhood level.

Garcia, who was among Carter's Camp David visitors, was extremely critical of the Carter administration. "We elected Carter because he gave us hope that we could be part of the leadership for all Americans, but he has failed to respond to the needs of Hispanics," Garcia said.

Garcia, like others, is disappointed in the grim statistics for Hispanics that indicate an eight percent unemployment rate, in comparison to five percent for the total workforce, a 20 percent teenage unemployment rate, a median family income level of \$11,421 compared to \$16,284 for non-Hispanics in 1977, and the lowest education level in the U.S. Among Hispanics, Puerto Ricans hold the lowest position in terms of income, unemployment and education.

"For too long Puerto Ricans have been the afterthought of the afterthought," said Garcia. Garcia, however, did not single out the problems of urban Puerto Ricans, instead he urged that Hispanics of all nationalities—Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican and Chicano—unite for a common good.

The most controversial issue at the conference concerned undocumented workers. The issue has threatened to divide Hispanics from their traditional allies, organized labor and blacks, and has put Hispanics on the side of those who condone illegal immigration—low wage employer groups, ranchers, anti-unionists and conservative politicians.

Complicating the problem of undocumented workers is the almost complete lack of reliable statistics on the immigrants. Estimates put the number of undocumented workers in the U.S. anywhere from four to 10 million. Existing figures are based almost entirely on the number of apprehensions made by the

Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) each year—a number that may be lower than the actual number of immigrants by a factor of four or five.

According to Leonel Castillo, INS Commissioner, there are 16,000 apprehensions daily south of San Diego. Castillo, the first Hispanic to head the INS, says the Mexican border is now permeable and present laws totally unenforceable.

Misconceptions about undocumented workers abound. What reliable statistics there are, however, indicate that the aliens come here to work—and not to live off the government; 73 percent of the illegals have income tax withheld, 77 percent pay Social Security, only .5 percent are on welfare and 4.6 percent receive health care benefits.

One speaker at the conference, Dr. Vernon Briggs, Jr., professor of industrial and labor relations at Cornell University, said illegal immigration was a factor in keeping Hispanic wages low and working conditions poor in the Southwest.

Brigg's paper aroused the anger of many Chicanos at the conference.

To support his contention Briggs cited two Labor Department studies that indicate the majority of undocumented workers find work in a specific geographical region (the Southwest) and compete with low income Americans for the same unskilled positions.

"Any effort to improve the life options of Hispanics must include a control of illegal immigration," Briggs said.

Because undocumented workers are willing to work for less, they have often angered labor unions and others in the Southwest. At the conference, United Farmworker representative Gil Padilla called undocumented workers "scabs" and "strikebreakers," and Leonel Castillo, INS Commissioner said *LA MIGRA* (the INS) got more calls from labor unions to deport undocumented workers than from employers. In one of the conference's lighter moments, Castillo said he got a torrent of calls from U.S. Mariachi bands complaining of cheap Mexican music that migrated to weddings and parties across the border.

But according to Chicano leaders at the conference, Mexicanos have become a scapegoat for a recession minded public. The Chicanos, who often trace their ancestry back to Mexico, remember when thousands of Mexicans were deported during the depression.

The undocumented workers are politically and legally powerless, Chicanos contend. In south Texas there has been a move to impose a head tax on the children of illegals who wish to attend public schools, and in Arizona, until recently, ranchers have abused and killed undocumented farmworkers without prosecution.

In addition, the Mexicans are victims of an immigration policy that admits legally more Indochinese and Russians than Mexicans. And according to Castillo, it has become harder for Mexicans to come over legally in the past 10 years.

One solution to the problem suggested at the conference is to impose tough sanctions against employers who hire illegals. But according to Al Perez, associate counsel for Mexican American Legal Defense Education Fund (MALDEF)

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Among the recommendations adopted by the conference:

- A more accurate count of the Hispanic population in the 1980 census.
- Enforcement of affirmative action programs in public and private sectors, specifically in the federal government where Hispanics represent only 3.5 percent of the total 5.5 million federal employees.
- Support for the Humphrey Hawkins bill and the right to a job with decent wages and working conditions.

In the area of undocumented workers, the conference called for:

- Increasing legal immigration from Mexico to pre-1976 levels of about 50,000 persons a year because of the "unique historical and cultural ties that exist between the two countries."
- Extending general amnesty to all undocumented workers now living in the U.S.
- High federal priority to apprehension and prosecution of smugglers, or "coyotes" who extort high fees for their services and often abuse their human cargo.
- U.S. economic aid to Mexico to aid in economic and industrial development.

this solution has its problems, too, chief among them the identification of illegals among American citizens.

"The philosophy here could be guilty until proven innocent," Perez said, citing the unequal burden of proof of citizenship placed on Hispanics.

Two other participants talked about other aspects of the immigration problem.

"You can't talk about undocumented workers without talking about economic conditions in Mexico," suggested Jean Suarez, representative of the Amalgamated Textile Workers in San Antonio, "The border is permeable the other way too—there are scores of runaway shops just across the border."

"Perhaps the solution is to open a hole in the top for Hispanics with better jobs and more power, not to close off the flow of people coming from the bottom," said Ed Pena, former President of the League of United Latin American citizens.

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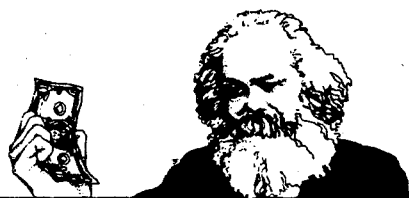
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By Patrick Laceyfield

SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR

ON THE SURFACE, IT IS BUSINESS as usual in San Salvador, the capital city of the Central American country of El Salvador. Government billboards hail the economic programs of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero as bringing "Bienestar para Todos"—"Well-being for All"—as the annual festival in honor of Salvador's patron saint sends jumping clowns and floats and mariachi bands winding through the city's narrow streets. Yet even the festival is unable to divert the attention of Salvadoreans from the question on everyone's minds since the fall of Somoza in neighboring Nicaragua. Is El Salvador next?

"There is no difference between Nicaragua and El Salvador," Carlos (not his real name), a young church activist, told me, motioning me to a back room and speaking in hushed tones. "People can't talk about it, but they feel it here," he explained, pointing to his heart. "But don't get the impression that we are afraid. One has to be cautious."

The caution is well justified. According to the Catholic Church, between January and June of this year more than 400 persons have been assassinated, including 107 *campesinos*, 61 workers, 26 teachers, 44 students and two priests. The culprits are the *Guardia Nacional*, the National Police and the *Union Guerrera Blanca* (UGB)—the White Warrior Union. The latter, a right-wing terrorist group consisting of retired military personnel and off-duty police, broke into the offices of *La Cronica Del Pueblo*, the only daily opposition paper, on one hot July evening and destroyed it.

The wretched poverty of the rural *campesinos* and the urban *marginales* that crowd into the shantytowns ringing the capital belie the "economic miracle" touted by the local Chamber of Commerce. In this, the smallest country in Central America and the most densely populated in the Western Hemisphere, most Salvadoreans earn less than \$100 a year, while eight percent of the population earns more than half the national income. According to a government study, 1800 families hold title to more than half the arable land with 86,000 families eking out a meager existence on the remainder.

El Salvador is the only Latin American nation designated by the UN as belonging to the world's "hunger belt."

El Salvador has been under direct military rule since 1931—longer than any other Latin American nation—when the military overthrew a civilian president and weathered a brief peasant rebellion the following year that was prompted by the Salvadorean Communist Party. That uprising, in part a response by the population to the collapse of the world coffee market and the displacement of peasants from the land, was crushed. Some 30,000 peasants were killed in retribution by the army—a figure equal to three percent of the Salvadorean population at that time.

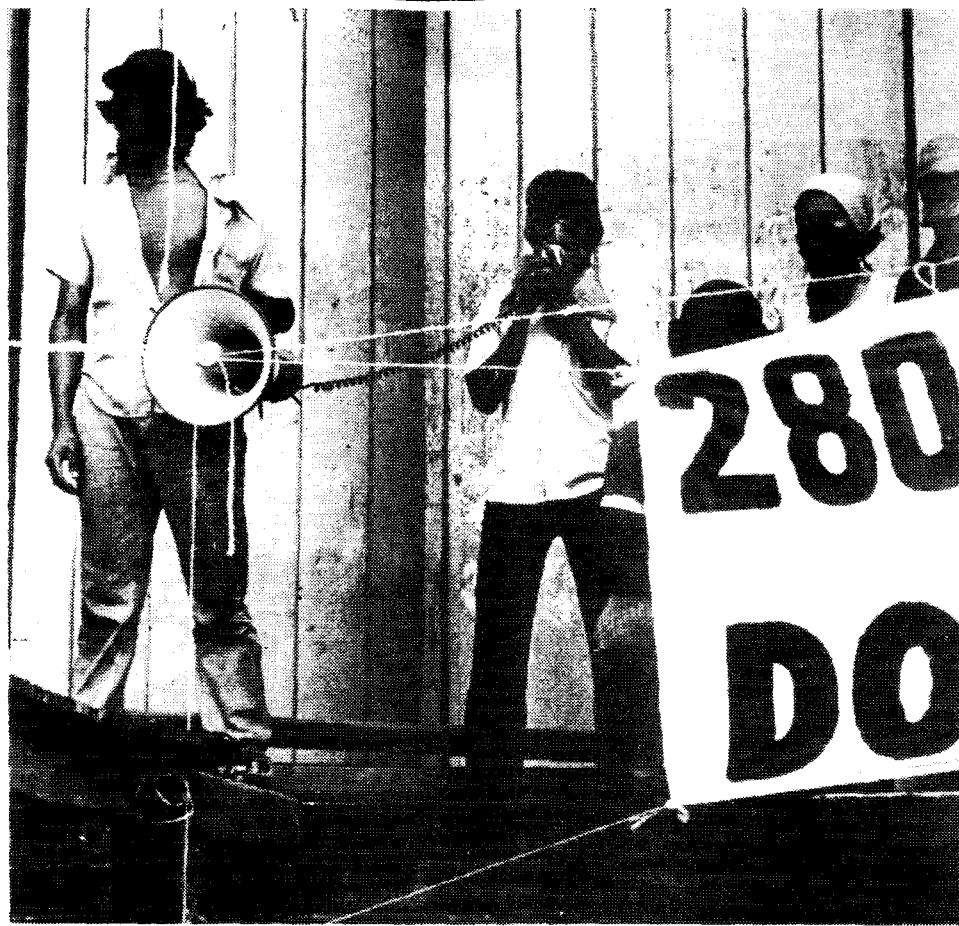
"This government of Gen. Romero is inflexible in the extreme," a U.S. diplomat with years of service in Latin America told IN THESE TIMES. Indeed, the U.S. and Ambassador William Davine have been concerned about the escalating terror and are pressuring Gen. Romero to open up the political process to allow an outlet for legal opposition. This, U.S. diplomatic sources hope, would undercut the growing appeal of the radical "street" groups—the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), the Popular Leagues of February 28 (LP-28), and the Popular Unity Action Front (FAPU).

Following the occupation of the Metropolitan Cathedral and three foreign embassies in April and May and the resulting deaths of 23 persons on the steps of the Cathedral and 14 more at the Venezuelan embassy from army gunfire, Gen. Romero announced that the government described as a "democratic opening to citizens' groups"—"The Dialogue." The response of the left to this rapprochement has, predictably, been cool.

"Here's Gen. Romero saying 'Come to me' and yet he continues to say 'no' to the Church, 'no' to the popular groups, and 'no' to the people," an activist in the BPR noted caustically.

Archbishop Oscar Romero, nominat-

## IN THE WORLD



Members of the radical street group LP-28 demand release of jailed activists.

### CENTRAL AMERICA

## El Salvador, next in line, takes time

ed for the Nobel Peace Prize by 118 British MPs and 16 U.S. representatives for his steadfast defense of the human rights and advocacy of the Salvadorean poor, is even more blunt. "There is no credibility for 'The Dialogue,'" he stated in an interview with IN THESE TIMES, "because a dialogue implies the presence of and tolerance for dissenting voices. It is absurd that a national dialogue has been called during this state of siege (a mild form of martial law) and that more acts of violence have been committed by the extreme right and—in revenge—by the extreme left."

The opposition to Gen. Romero and military rule is divided into four, more or less distinct components: the moderate electoral opposition, the Church, the radical street groups, and the left-wing guerrilla groups.

The moderate opposition is represented by the Union of National Opposition (UNO), a coalition including the Christian Democratic Party, the social-democratic National Revolutionary Movement, and the Nationalist Democratic Union, an electoral front for the clandestine Salvadorean Communist Party. The UNO fielded candidates against the military's National Conciliation Party in 1972 and 1977. Widespread election fraud and intimidation is believed to have robbed Christian Democrat Jose Napoleon Duarte of the presidency in 1972 and similar fraud sparked massive public demonstrations following Gen. Romero's victory in the 1977 balloting. The UNO withdrew from the 1978 national assembly elections, charging that elections were futile in such a climate of fear and repression.

Recently the government allowed the return of Dr. Morelos Ehrlich, the UNO's 1977 vice-presidential standard bearer, and intimated it would permit Duarte to return from exile in Venezuela. Still, the Christian Democrats, by far the strongest force in the UNO, insist that "elections are not the fundamental problem" and vow to abstain from the March 1980 elections unless human rights, freedom of expression and the rights of *campesinos* to organize are respected by the government.

Though Archbishop Oscar Romero

chafes at reference to the Catholic Church in El Salvador as part of the opposition, the Church under Romero has become a rallying point for the defense of human rights and the poor. Every Sunday thousands flock to the huge unfinished cathedral to hear the slight 62-year-old prelate speak, in his words, "the voice of the Gospel—denouncing oppression and injustice, and reaffirming our solidarity with the poor." As the Church has taken its message of "liberation theology" to the poor, it has become the target of government, paramilitary, and terrorist attacks. The UGB threatened in 1977 to "execute" the 47 Jesuits working in El Salvador and then, less than a month after Archbishop Romero took office, ambushed Father Rutilio Grande in his rural parish of Aguilares. In the past two years, six priests have been killed, others detained and tortured, many expelled. The latest killing occurred on Aug. 4. "There is much oppression of the Church because the Church is standing against oppression and injustice in accord with the principles of Medellin and Puebla," said Archbishop Romero.

The Church is a highly visible, easily found opposition. Making contact with the radical street groups is understandably more difficult. This correspondent met with leaders of the Popular Leagues of Feb. 28 at the National University. LP-28 is a cadre organization of some thousand activists organizing among *campesinos*, students, and *marginales*. "Our task is to unite all the popular movements against the government," Humberto (not his real name) told ITT. "The economy must be completely re-oriented to provide the basic necessities of life for all Salvadoreans, emphasizing production for use, not export."

"And," he added pointedly, "we must liberate all political prisoners and put an end to the disappearances and torture." Like the BRR, which boasts 30,000 members including the two *campesino* organizations, the teachers' union, and other labor, student and shantytown dwellers' organizations, the LP-28 denies links with the left guerrilla groups. While asserting that popular resistance is inevitable as the struggle proceeds, they conceive their role as mobilizing the masses in militant, non-

violent direct action, using violence only as defense against police and army attack. "Elections are a secondary problem and arena," asserts Humberto of the LP-28. "What the bourgeois parties don't realize is that the popular movement for democracy in El Salvador is not in the elections but in the streets."

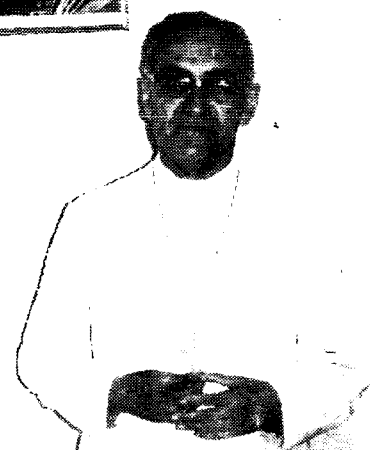
The day after our conversation, the LP-28 took to the streets, throwing up wooden barricades and occupying the Metropolitan Cathedral for 20 hours. The dozen occupiers, disguised with red kerchiefs over their faces, demanded the release of four LP-28 leaders arrested by the government. As they spoke to the people over a public address system and played revolutionary songs from Chile and Nicaragua, a crowd gathered across the street as others dropped food and money inside the barricades. The army and police kept their distance, until at last the government released the four and the occupation ended.

The fourth component of the opposition to Gen. Romero and the oligarchy is increasing left-wing guerrilla activity. The two principal groups, the Popular Forces of Liberation and the People's Revolutionary Army, have been responsible for the kidnapping and/or slaying of prominent Salvadoreans since 1977 and have kidnapped two British businessmen, two Japanese, a Swedish and a Dutch businessman in the last two years. Following the massacre on the Cathedral steps in May, the Popular Forces assassinated Education Minister Carlos Herrera Rebollo in downtown San Salvador. Though most observers and activists do not consider the guerrilla threat nearly so dangerous to the military regime as either the Church or the radical street groups, continued inflexibility and intransigence by the government can bring only an escalation in armed struggle.

Meanwhile, the Salvadorean Chamber of Commerce has telexed its affiliates worldwide countering what they call a "negative image" produced by the "forces of international subversion trying to destroy our system." The diplomatic community in San Salvador is lamenting Gen. Romero's failure to provide a "proper climate" for next year's elections. And the bi-weekly English-language *News-Gazette* is bemoaning the words "El Salvador is next." "Whenever you repeat the rumor 'El Salvador is next,' and act as if you believe it," intones the *News-Gazette* editorially, "you are a propagandist for the other side." The question is, given that the "other side" in El Salvador is 90 percent of the populace, how long can the popular will be denied?

Patrick Laceyfield recently returned from two months in Mexico, Guatemala and El Salvador.

## Catholic Church plays increasing role in growing opposition to El Salvador regime



Nobel Peace Prize nominee Oscar Romero.



## ITALY



*People associated with Red Brigades have been "riding the tiger" and now want to get off.*

# THE RED BRIGADES

## PART I

By Diana Johnstone

**T**HE ITALIAN LEFT IS TORN BY a miniature civil war. On one side is the Italian Communist Party (PCI), the strongest "old left" party in the Western world. On the other side is the Workers Autonomy movement, the most radical outgrowth of the "new left" of the '60s. Their deep-rooted conflict broke into the open in February 1977, when students espousing Autonomy drove Communist union leader Luciano Lama off Rome University campus. It took a dramatic turn Apr. 7 with the surprise arrest of 15 Autonomy movement intellectuals, including top theorist Toni Negri. Negri was accused of being the mastermind behind the Red Brigades terrorist organization that last year kidnapped and murdered Christian Democratic party leader Aldo Moro.

The case was prepared by Padua magistrate Pietro Calogero. He is considered a PCI sympathizer, and the PCI press has tended to go along with his hypothesis linking Autonomy to the Red Brigades.

The so-called "Autonomy area" is a loose web of collectives and militant groups often at odds with each other but all fiercely hostile to labor unions and parties—especially the PCI. Dispersed in precarious or part-time jobs by economic restructuring and excluded from the traditional mass workplace struggles of the labor movement, these young people have sought new means—frequently violent—to express their "needs" (the key term in the neo-Marxism of the '70s).

Toni Negri, Oreste Scalzone, Luciano Ferrari Bravo, and Emilio Vesce (all arrested) have regularly analyzed and theorized the needs and struggles—including armed struggle—of this new "societal worker" in contrast to the old "mass worker" of the factories hailed by Negri as the latest embodiment of Marx's proletarian "revolutionary subject."

Autonomy intellectuals publish their highly sophisticated and abstruse prose in elegant slick reviews such as *Magazzino*, *Controinformazione*, *Autonomia*. Their actual influence, much less control, over the violent acts of youthful Autonomi remains to be proven. Many people consider Negri at least "morally responsible" for a rash of youthful violence in Padua and would like to see the connection clarified. Calogero has virtually buried that mystery under a more grave and controversial one by bringing in the Red Brigades, accusing the Autonomy thinkers

of planning and directing all the ultra-left violence of recent years as part of a single projected "armed insurrection."

### A fishing expedition.

Some of Negri's friends abroad claim he is being persecuted as part of a plot by the PCI and the Christian Democrats to wipe out all political opposition. That is an oversimplification quite on a par with assuming Negri must be a terrorist chieftain because he justifies revolutionary violence. After several days of interrogation, Negri himself concluded that he was not facing "trumped-up charges" so much as a different mind set, a different way of interpreting reality.

Calogero and fellow magistrates seem to believe, sincerely enough, that both Autonomy and the Red Brigades are part of the same subversive design hatched six years ago by Negri and other leaders of the defunct *Potere Operaio* (Workers Power) group, and they have set out on a "fishing expedition" to prove it. After investigating Autonomy violence in Padua for two years, Calogero reportedly precipitated arrest of the Negri group

(centered around Padua University's Political Science Institute) after fellow leftist judge Emilio Alessandrini was assassinated. Judges' fears of being bumped off before they can prepare their cases may lead to abusive preventive arrests.

In July, the judges in the case began quarreling publicly, with Calogero accusing his colleagues of holding back evidence and slowing down the investigation. Over his objections, one of the people arrested in Padua on Apr. 7, railway employee doctor Carmela Di Rocca and journalist Giuseppe Nicotri, were freed for lack of evidence.

Under Italian law, the prosecution can take years to prepare its case for such a grave crime as armed insurrection. But unless some sort of convincing evidence is produced soon, protests will begin to arise from civil libertarians who have been slow to react partly because the Negri group refuses to disavow violence, and even more because they fear that if Calogero has goofed, the legal system and democratic institutions will come out of this even more discredited—with terrorism the winner.

People who know the accused intellectuals tend to find the notion that they ran the Red Brigades preposterous—not for reasons that are always entirely flattering. Liberal journalist Giorgio Bocca said he could "no more imagine a Red Brigades column awaiting orders from Scalzone than a Marine battalion awaiting orders from Truman Capote."

But they may have aspired to. Intellectuals have repeatedly looked enthusiastically to proletarian violence as the force they can guide to make the revolution. This was clearly Negri's attitude towards young *Autonomi*. As for the Red Brigades, Negri and other Autonomy intellectuals criticized their violence as totally misused. Calogero dismisses these criticisms as a "cover." On the contrary, they are probably the key to the real relationship between Autonomy and the Red Brigades.

### The one who got away.

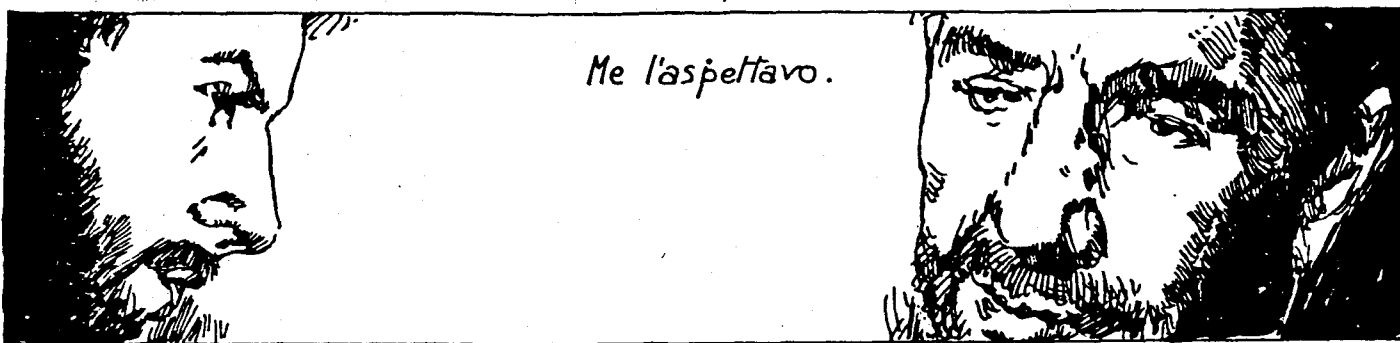
Following the Apr. 7 arrests, the first shred of concrete evidence linking Autonomy leaders to the Red Brigades came from developments outside the investigation, and concerned not the jailed intellectuals, but the one who got away, Franco Piperno.

On May 29, solar energy researcher Giuliana Conforto answered the doorbell at the Rome apartment where she lives with her two small children. A score of policemen had come for her roomers, Valerio Morucci and Adriana Faranda, whom she knew as "Enrico" and "Gabriella." Stashed away in the couple's room was an arsenal starring a Skorpion automatic weapon like the one experts say the Red Brigades used to kill Moro and several judges, as well as stolen documents, plans for past and future Red Brigade operations, and other abundant paraphernalia of the terrorist trade. Giuliana Conforto has staunchly insisted that she had no idea who her two roomers really were, that she had taken them in because she needed the rent money and potential baby-sitters and they had been sent to her by her old friend and fellow physicist, Franco Piperno.

Piperno, 36, was one of the big stars of the '68-'69 student movement, a brilliant and seductive talker who may have "ridden the tiger" of revolutionary mass movement so far simply because he was so good at staying on. He knew Faranda and Morucci well. Piperno and Faranda were together urging striking FIAT workers in May 1969 and later in the leadership of *Potere Operaio*.

Morucci was in charge of the Rome section of *Potere Operaio*'s tough security guard.

Adriana Faranda, 29, is remembered in the Sicilian village of Tortorici as the most beautiful girl in town, rich and



In the first panel of the METROPOLI comic strip of the Moro kidnapping the "brigadista" tells Moro, "President, the situation is worsening." In the second panel Moro replies "I expected it."



brilliant, who won over her admiring contemporaries to her new enthusiasms, from Bob Dylan to revolutionary struggle, when she came home from school on holiday.

Old friends describe Morucci as courageous and kind. This attractive pair are the first two serious suspects captured by police in connection with the Moro case.

If indeed Autonomy leader Piperno found a hiding place for two full-time members of the Red Brigades sought by police for killing Moro, this obviously fits Judge Calogero's theory that both Autonomy and the Red Brigades are secretly led by the old *Potere Operaio* leadership. But an alternative explanation is that Piperno did the two old friends a favor out of a complicated combination of personal loyalty and ambition to bring them around to his own political line.

Giuliana Conforto said she got the impression that Faranda and Morucci were working with Piperno on the new monthly review of the Autonomy movement *Metropoli*. Although editor Oreste Scalzone and staff writer Lauro Zagato were arrested in Rome on Apr. 7, the first issue of *Metropoli* came out in June. It featured a comic strip version of the Moro kidnapping whose authors insisted they had worked from imagination, but investigators strongly suspected that Faranda and Morucci had served as expert consultants.

#### The Moro comic strip.

*Metropoli* staff writer Lanfranco Pace explained that the political purpose of the comic strip was twofold. First, to make the point that the Red Brigades were an indigenous Italian political phenomenon, and not the instrument of foreign secret services, and second, to promote the theme Moro's life could have been saved if the Christian Democratic government and the PCI had agreed to negotiate with the Red Brigades.

In this version, both Moro and the Red Brigades look like innocent victims of the "historic compromise" between PCI and DC. The contention that Moro was needlessly sacrificed on the alter of the state by his own party, prodded to take a tough line by the PCI, first developed by Moro himself in letters from captivity, has been taken up by a varied chorus including Socialist party leaders, radicals and Autonomy as part of a polemic identifying the PCI with ruthless police state tendencies. This naturally infuriates Communists who have no trouble imagining the accusation of "complicity with terrorism" had they taken a soft line during the Moro kidnapping.

The Autonomy area generally applauded the Moro kidnapping for its technical perfection and for striking at the hated historic compromise—seen as a counter-revolutionary strengthening of the capitalist state to be destroyed at all costs. But Autonomy publicly urged their "comrades" in the Red Brigades not to execute Moro. Their objection to killing Moro was purely political—the Christian Democratic architect of the "historic compromise," embittered against the PCI for its adamant refusal to bargain with terrorists for his release, would do more to demolish the historic compromise alive than dead.

Leading Socialists, who secretly contacted Piperno to feel out the possibility of exchanging Moro for a token Red Brigades prisoner, later said government flexibility might have saved the former Prime Minister.

The Moro killing apparently also split the Red Brigades.

Documents brought to light after the arrest of Morucci and Faranda indicate that they were involved in a fierce political battle with the leadership of the terrorist organization and they may have sought Piperno's help in hiding not from the police, but from the Red Brigades.

"The straight gate through which can be born or perish the process of subversion in Italy consists of a juncture between the terrible beauty of that Mar. 12, 1977, in the streets of Rome, and the geometrical power unfurled in Via Fani." Mar. 12 was marked by violent clashes between police and Autonomi in which a young woman was shot dead.

Via Fani is where the Red Brigades seized Moro. This sample of Autonomy's



Top: Oreste Scalzone was arrested and Franco Piperno has gone underground. Left: Renato Curcio, founder of Red Brigades, awaiting trial.

as an urban guerrilla group to serve as "military arm" of factory worker struggles, mainly by intimidating bosses and foremen. In 1974, it turned its attention outside the factory, kidnapping Genoa judge Mario Sossi and then letting him go after he wept over his misdeeds. Curcio's wife, Mara Cagol, was killed in a clash with police in 1975, and by the next year the original group, including Curcio, were all in prison. But the Red Brigades only went on to become bigger and more murderous, with fresh recruits and more mysterious leaders.

Morucci and Faranda apparently joined the Red Brigades some time after *Potere Operaio* broke up in 1973. After the Moro kidnapping, they attacked the leadership for becoming a reflection of the state and for cutting itself off from the needs of the movement. In an internal discussion document, they described the leadership's theory—"that narrowing of democratic spaces and evocation of the fierce nature of the Multinational Imperialist state favor the revolutionary movement" as "madness." Some sources say that after the leadership moved to discipline them, they fled the organization with much of its money and equipment (including the famous Skorpio) to set up a separate column that would relate to the movement. It is widely rumored that the Red Brigades leadership punished the deviationists by betraying them to the police.

Piperno, in hiding since the Apr. 7 roundup, has begun calling for a truce. In an article in the June issue of *Metropoli*, he urged a halt to "military logic" which can only lead to "a useless surplus of violence" and stifle the growth of the new social movement. The article, typical of the ambiguity with which Piperno and others have tried to "ride the tiger" of a mass movement full of violence-prone young people, could be interpreted on one level as an incitement to violence and on another as a condemnation of violence. The courts chose the first interpretation and ordered the issue seized and three more of its editors arrested.

"The arrested comrades are not innocent," Piperno said, since they "belong to the area of social subversion." Still, their arrest was "a grave arbitrary act" and the judges, politicians and journalists responsible should be made to pay. This unspecified punishment (violent, interpreted by the court; legal, retorted *Metropol* editors) could be "a signal against the idolatry of violent means that seems to be spreading like an epidemic among young people."

In subsequent letters to *Lotta Continua* and *La Repubblica*, Piperno more clearly suggested an "amnesty" that would free about 1,000 militants now in prison and enable others who are trapped in clandestine armed struggle to return to normal life.

One of those in prison is Piperno's estranged wife, Fiora Pirri Ardizzone, arrested last year for organizing a guerrilla band near Naples. Her father is a prominent Sicilian business leader. Her mother is a blue-blooded baroness whose second husband is Emanuele Macaluso, one of Berlinguer's closest allies on the PCI secretariat.

Friends of Piperno say that for some time he showed signs of wanting to get down from the tiger. As a physics professor in Calabria, he befriended Socialist party leader Giacomo Mancini, turned to economic reformism, and applied for a position at Harvard that would have taken him out of Italy—perhaps for good.

#### Self-defense.

The amnesty proposal met with rejections from both sides, but was well received somewhere in the undefinable middle of the new left where armed struggle is felt as a political, and sometimes personal, disaster. *Lotta Continua* strongly promoted the idea.

The newspaper said to stop the "perverse spiral" of terrorism and repression, the first thing needed was official recognition that individuals and groups who went clandestine and militaristic at the end of the '60s and start of the '70s were not moved solely by ideological factors, "but to a decisive extent by the proven existence of vast government illegal activity which foreshadowed the stifling of democratic freedoms."

In those days, much of the Italian left was bracing itself for a right-wing military coup on the Greek model. Between 1969 and 1974, there were a series of fascist terror bombings and serious coup plots, with the apparent complicity of sections of the police and army intelligence. Fascist toughs, undisturbed by police, patrolled sections of downtown Milan, beating up stray leftists.

Self-defense became a major concern of the left. Worker and student movements organized their own tough security guards. Since the end of World War II, Christian Democratic government leaders reportedly tolerated leftover fascist groups, using them for "dirty tricks" against the left—organized by the secret services. In the early '70s, the PCI policy of calling for police protection against fascist violence was criticized throughout the extra-parliamentary left on the grounds that the police and the fascists were in cahoots. Expectation of fascist repression—as well as the Vietnam war—revived memories of heroic Partisan resistance and drew young people into armed struggle.

There is no simple explanation for leftist terrorism in Italy. It is not a matter of desperate isolation as in West Germany; Italian terrorism has a certain social base, even if limited. The historic roots go back far before the Partisans, to the nineteenth century secret societies and Garibaldi, at the very least. And it must be stressed that a regime that is formally most democratic, but in which a single party—the Christian Democrats—has clutched and abused power without a break for over 30 years, does not encourage faith in peaceful political change.

Since 1974, fears of a coup have receded as economic changes have restructured and split the working class. Scalzone wrote recently all the ideological and political motives for armed struggle in the early '70s had since been invalidated.

Did Piperno make his amnesty proposal to get himself off the hook, to help old friends slip out of the "armed party" or for more subtle political reasons?

If people like Morucci and Faranda could leave the Red Brigades with impunity, what would they do next? It is unlikely that Piperno himself or anybody else has clear-cut answers to such questions.

It does seem, however, that if Autonomy never commanded the Red Brigades, many in the Red Brigades were coming around to Autonomy's point of view. Perhaps the "juncture" sought by Autonomy intellectuals between the enthusiasm of the "movement" and the organizational know-how of the Red Brigades was beginning to happen on a small scale when police were tipped off to Morucci and Faranda's hideout. Calogero's nightmare was perhaps coming true, but not exactly as he imagined. ■





Buck and Bubbles

By Derk Richardson

**H**ONI COLES? BUNNY BRIGGS? Baby Laurence? Most Americans are as unfamiliar with the names of the great jazz tap dancers as they are with tap dancing in Afro-American culture and with its vital role in the history of jazz.

Shaped by the celluloid hoofing of Fred Astaire, Gingers Rogers and Gene Kelly, with a small dash of Bill "Bojangles" Robinson dancing with little Shirley Temple, the image of tap has been reduced to a frothy confection of novelty and nostalgia.

But tap dancing is currently enjoying a revival of interest and performance.

Linked to the late '70s regeneration of jazz, this revival reflects tap's black musical heritage and reaffirms its importance in American performing arts.

Complex rhythm dancing was central to the culture that enslaved West Africans brought with them to America. On the plantations, black slaves adapted British Isles folk dances, notably the Irish Jig and Lancashire Clog, into their own circle shouts, story dances and "juba" steps.

By the eve of the Civil War, black American dance already had its first popular hero: William Henry Lane, known as "Master Juba" and billed as "King of All Dancers." Lane's blend of African rhythms and European styles led him to victory in staged contests with the great white jig dancer, John Diamond, and to the unprecedented top billing over four white dancers in 1845.

Throughout the 19th century black and white minstrels refined and embellished earlier dance patterns—from the "Shuffle" through the "Essence of Old Virginia" to the "Soft Shoe," first mastered by George Primrose, a white dancer who appeared often with black performers at the turn of the century. Carnivals, roadshows and such vaudevillian troupes as "The Whitman Sisters" became the incubators for black dancing talent in the early 20th century.

Only in the 1920s did black dancers make it to the "legitimate" stage. Bert Williams, with his "eccentric" catch-all style, was Broadway's first black star, and Noble Sissle and Eubie Blake's "Shuffle Along" introduced Josephine Baker in 1921. But the greatest breakthrough came when Bill Robinson sang and danced his "Doin' the New Low Down" in the "Blackbirds of 1928" revue. He was hailed in the press as "one of the great artists of the modern stage."

More important than theatrical recogni-

tion were exchanges between the tappers and the growing legion of jazz musicians in the 1920s, '30s and '40s. Dancers worked regularly with the orchestras of Cab Calloway, Duke Ellington, Billy Eckstein and Lionel Hampton. The syncopations of the jazz tap percussionists may have led the way for such drummers as Max Roach and Kenny Clarke, who revolutionized the rhythms from swing to bebop.

At the same time, the hoofers were making great strides in the complexity and musicality of their dancing. The most important innovations came from Bill Robinson and John W. Bubbles. By taking tap "up on its toes" with his unequaled balance and control, and his impeccable sense of swing, Bojangles attained breathtaking precision and clarity of sound. His legendary stair dance transcended gimmickry through its graceful movement and subtle touch.

What Robinson did for articulation, Bubbles did for rhythm, dropping his heels on offbeats, adding new and unusual accents and syncopations. "I can do anything with my feet," argued the dancing half of the long-lived Buck and Bubbles team. "Why, I can dance 'Swanee River' and make you hear every word."

Constantly refining their art, tap dancers jammed with each other, comparing, trading and stealing steps in "cutting" battles that paralleled the competitive blowing sessions of jazz musicians. During the "golden age" of tap, from the '20s through the '40s, the Hoofers Club in Harlem served as the headquarters for these fraternal exchanges.

The pressure to distinguish oneself from the rest of the hoofers led to the cultivation of "specialties" among the acts. Comic antics, "eccentric" and "rubber-leg" dancing were adopted by many, while the biggest names became known for their "acrobatics" (the Four Step Brothers), their "flash" (the Nicholas Brothers, Harold and Fayard, who debuted at the Cotton Club in 1932 at ages

# BUBBLES BOJANGLES and BABY

eight and 14), or simply their "class" (Honi Coles and Cholly Atkins, whose exquisitely slow and definitive "soft shoe" was the ultimate in elegance).



White Shadows

While these masters of rhythm dancing were perfecting their riffs, their white shadows were being elevated into the pantheon of stage and screen royalty. Movie-going audiences were offered a pale if polished version of tap dancing in

*Tap dancing is a traditional black American performing art. Now, with the rebirth of jazz, tap is back in style.*



the musical extravaganzas of the period.

Fred Astaire, whose self-proclaimed "outlaw style" combined ballroom and tap dance, was the epitome of poise and grace, and both he and Eleanor Powell were unusually talented in choreography and footwork. But the dancing of most white hoofers was devoid of jazz improvisation. For Buddy Ebsen, Anne Miller and Dan Bailey, rhythmic experimentation was secondary to a stylized image.

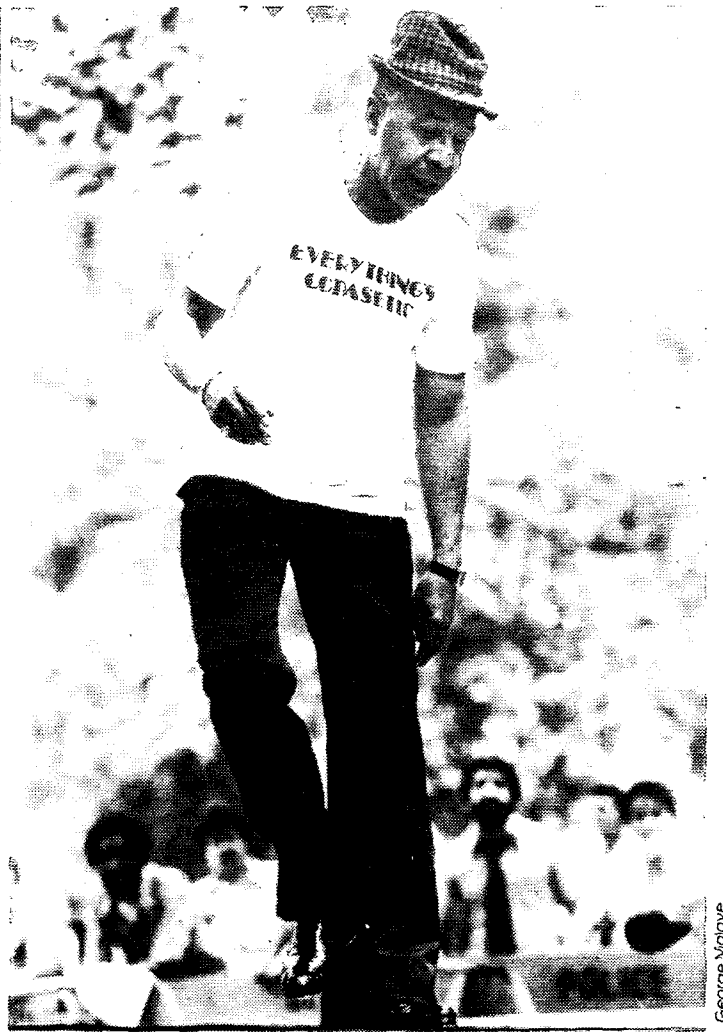
The amusing and carefree portrayal of tap in the Fred and Ginger and Busby Berkeley musicals reinforced the notion of tap dancing as a novelty act, trivializing it to the point where even Clark Gable could be seen "Puttin' on the Ritz." Doing for tap what Paul Whiteman and Glenn Miller did for jazz, the '30s and '40s musicals—which still shape the nostalgic image of tap—abstracted rhythm dancing from its black musical tradition and homogenized it.

But jazz tap dancing entered its most challenging and creative phase in the late '40s, when the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic structures of jazz were radically transformed in the shift from swing to bebop. Inspired by the adventurous bop pianists and horn players, "Baby Laurence" Jackson extended the role of dancer as instrumentalist.

"I think my style of dancing was influenced more by [Art] Tatum and [Charlie] Parker than by other dancers," he said. "While I danced, I hummed Parker's solos to myself and tried to fit rhythmic patterns to them with my feet—those



Camden Richman extends the jazz tap tradition; "Cookie" Cook preserves it.



George Valade



### Tap is Back

Now, over 50 years after the birth of jazz provided the lasting musical foundation for their art, the great jazz tap dancers are beginning to gain the long overdue recognition of their talent. There is a nostalgic bent to this country's "rediscovery" of neglected (often meaning black) artists, and many parents hope to recapture the innocence of the Shirley Temple years through their children's tap lessons. But the reappearance of tap dancing in the late '70s is more directly linked to the revitalization of the jazz heritage.

*Bubbling Brown Sugar*, *Evolution of the Blues* and other historical black musicals showcase the dancing of Buster Brown, Honi Coles and Eddie Brown. Finding themselves in demand again are the Copacetics—Honi, Buster, Leslie "Bubba" Gaines, Charles "Cookie" Cook, and Albert "Gip" Gibson—a hoofers club formed originally in 1949 in tribute to Bill Robinson, whose estimation of perfection was "Everything is copacetic!" They have performed frequently in the East, appeared recently on a remarkable two-part Dick Cavett show, and increasingly pass on their craft to dance students who want to learn from the sources.

Pianist Jaki Byard, who worked with Charles Mingus and Eric Dolphy in the '60s, features tap dancer Tina Pratt with his Apollo Stompers bands in Boston and New York. "Rhythmically it seems to add something," he explained to *down beat* magazine, "And it's nice to have the cats playing behind a dancer to get that ensemble thing going."

Pursuing the most exciting explorations of the jazz tap tradition is Camden Richman, a West Coast dancer who extends both the musical and movement possibilities inherent in tap. She works as the lead percussionist in an Oakland jazz quartet with pianist Paul Arslanian, bassist Tom Dannenberg, and drummer Keith Terry. The group plays swing, bebop, Latin and modal music with equal facil-

ity, and the effortless precision and clarity with which Richman spins out her dazzling solos, the sounds leaping and swirling through the music, make her the musical stepdaughter to Baby Laurence.

Joined by Lynn Dally and Fred Strickland, who perform with their own modern dance companies in Los Angeles, the quartet becomes the Jazz Tap Percussion Ensemble. In performance, the Ensemble offers everything from spare geometric constructions, through flashy, unaccompanied solos to a rousing, spontaneous "Jam for Honi," with quick-

silver improvised breaks taking off from a classic Coles timestep. Richman and the Ensemble, planning a Midwest tour for the fall, are not to be missed, for in their feet may well lie the future of jazz tap percussion.

Tap dancing may never gain the serious appreciation it deserves as an indigenous art form as well as an entertainment. But as new generations absorb the contributions of Bubbles, Bojangles and Baby, the legacy of black music and dance becomes ever more central to the American performing arts. ■



Bill Robinson's double roll

## Tapping the Roots

The definitive written history of tap dancing is still to be found in Marshall and Jean Stearns' *Jazz Dance: The Story of American Vernacular Dance* (Macmillan, 1964), out of print, but well worth the effort to find it.

Until recently, the only filmed glimpses of the "golden age" of tap were rare clips from old movies and short subjects designed for black audiences. George Nierenburg's documentary, *No Maps on My Taps* (1979), begins to fill the gap. His sensitive film captures recent rehearsals and performances of Bunny Briggs, Sandman Sims and Chuck Green, as well as a conversation with John Bubbles, and vintage footage of

Buck and Bubbles and Bill Robinson.

Several record albums offer the chance the hear tap as pure percussion. Bill Robinson's "Doin' the New Low Down" is recorded on *Stars of the Apollo* (Columbia) with all its startling clarity. Fred Astaire's brilliance can be heard on *Starring Fred Astaire* (Columbia) despite the schmaltzy musical arrangements. Most important, and inspiring, is *Baby Laurence, Dancemaster*, recorded in 1959-60 (Classic Jazz); a complete lp of Baby's unbelievably rapid improvisations accompanied by excellent jazz musicians. It is indispensable for anyone interested in tap, and fine jazz listening in its own right. ■



## EDITORIAL



'WELL, I'VE READ ALL THE ANDY YOUNG RESIGNATION STORIES, ALL THE BLACK REACTION STORIES, ALL THE JEWISH REACTION TO BLACK REACTION STORIES, THE IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS COMMENTARIES, THE PLO COMMENTS ON THE EGYPTIAN REACTION ... AND I STILL HAVEN'T FIGURED OUT WHO THE UNDERDOG IS!'

## PLO recognition gains ground slowly

Andrew Young's resignation, apparently as a result of Israeli pressure on the Carter administration, has deepened the rift between the leadership of the American Jewish community and black leaders. And the political initiative of Joseph E. Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in meeting with the PLO's Terzi and in expressing his organization's support for Palestinian self-determination, has underlined the differences that now exist between Jewish and black leaders.

In the face of Israeli intransigence in respect to the PLO and to full autonomy of Palestinians on the West Bank, Lowery expressed the SCLC's unconditional support for "the human rights of all Palestinians, including the right to self-determination in regard to their own homeland." By meeting with Terzi for this purpose, Lowery was supporting Young's position that "whether you agree with them, whether they are terrorists or whatever they are," the PLO is "a legitimate power" that has proven it represents the majority of Palestinians and has the support "of a good part of the Arab world."

The day before Lowery's meeting with Terzi, Young emphasized that "essentially everybody in the U.S. supports the survival and integrity of the State of Israel." The differences arise, he said, over the question of "how to reconcile the survival and integrity of Israel" with "the affirmation of rights for the Palestinians." Black leaders, he added, are not anti-Israel, "they're simply saying that Israel can't be protected unless you do something about this Palestinian question."

In meeting with Terzi, Lowery confirmed Young's statements by urging the PLO to give "consideration to the recognition of the statehood of Israel." A day later, Terzi told Linda Charlton of the *New York Times* that if Israel returned to its pre-1967 boundaries and the Pales-

tinians were permitted to establish their own state "there would be an entirely new situation."

"Since we have proved to the world we know how to live with realities," he added, the Israelis "would have nothing to worry about." This statement was taken at face value by the *Chicago Tribune*, which the next day reported that the PLO is "apparently ready to acknowledge Israel's right to exist so long as it gets recognition of its own right to national independence."

At the time of the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, we wrote (*ITT*, March 21) that "recognition of Israel as a member of the family of Middle East nations" by Egypt, and "mutual commitments to peaceful and cooperative relations between the two" had always been a basic Israeli goal. That agreement was always a precondition for adjustment of Israel's relations with the Palestinians. Having been met, we added, "it is now Israel's responsibility to cooperate directly with the Palestinians in achieving their legitimate claims to national self-determination."

"Israel's recognition of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people, and its recognition of Palestinian statehood, may seem impossible now," we wrote, "but it will have to be among the next steps."

Internationally, there is increasing opposition to the Begin government's West Bank policy of expanded settlement and increasing support for Palestinian statehood. Inside Israel as well as out more and more people are coming to realize that Israel's survival requires accommodation, and that accommodation requires coming to terms with reality. In this situation, leaders of the American Jewish community are among the slowest to recognize necessity.

In stark contrast, and to their great credit, the black leaders in SCLC, along with Young, have been the first major

voices in the public arena to speak out in the best true interest of both Jews and Palestinians. That this should deepen a rift between Jews and blacks is an irony that reflects badly only on the Jewish leaders.

For the leaders of the SCLC, support for Young was less important than their emerging again, for the first time since Martin Luther King's death, as a political presence to be reckoned with. Like King, when he spoke out against the war

in Vietnam and began organizing a poor people's march on Washington, the SCLC leaders are playing a positive political role for which American Jews should be grateful. Andrew Young may well have been a victim of premature exposure of Carter administration policy. In that situation he has acted honorably. The action of his former associates in the SCLC is an independent political initiative of greater significance. ■

*SCLC's Joseph Lowery met with PLO and said, 'whether you agree with them or not they are a legitimate power.'*



## IN THE USSR

## The Soviet debate over SALT



Roy Medvedev, the distinguished historian, is a Soviet citizen living in Moscow. He is the foremost Marxist critic of Soviet society within the dissident movement, of which he is a prominent leader. His numerous books and articles on politics and history include *LET HISTORY JUDGE: THE ORIGINS AND CONSEQUENCES OF STALINISM* (Knopf, 1972) and *ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY* (Knopf, 1975). His report on the recent elections to the Supreme Soviet appeared in these pages June 27. Medvedev writes regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.

By Roy A. Medvedev

SALT II represents the most important agreement between the U.S. and the USSR in the postwar period. In terms of its possible international consequences, SALT II can only be compared to the Soviet-U.S. alliance during the second world war. Over the last eight to 10 years the arms race has required considerably greater economic effort than the two countries expended in World War II. SALT II has become a possibility only now that the Soviet Union has managed to achieve the same level in strategic weaponry that the U.S. reached somewhat earlier. "Parity" was a precondition for the agreement signed in Vienna by Brezhnev and Carter.

Soviet leaders did not begin to understand that any international treaty signed by the President of the U.S. is only a draft that can be changed or rejected by the Senate until after the collapse of the trade agreement signed by Nixon and Brezhnev in 1972. As it is well known, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for over 40 years has voted unanimously for all proposals of the government or the Communist Party. Eastern Europe as well has "party discipline," and their parliaments usually do not create difficult problems for their governments.

In the U.S. the decisive discussion of treaties begins only after the decision of the government. Judging by the extensive commentaries in the Soviet press, ratification of the SALT II treaty faces serious opposition in the Senate and in military-industrial circles.

However, if the Soviet leadership was long in coming to understand the peculiarities of "the American form of democracy," especially with the changed balance of power between the executive and legislative branches resulting from the Vietnam War and Watergate, American political figures understand very poorly the "Soviet system" and the weakening of the personal power of the head of state, the "Secretary General." This process began after the death of Stalin, increased with the removal of Khrushchev from power, and has become quite apparent over the last few years due to Brezhnev's illness. For some time now the most responsible decisions in the Soviet Union have been taken not by one man, but by a group of influential members of the Politburo and the military command.

Within this group opposition to the SALT II treaty before the signing was serious. Refusal of the Senate to ratify the treaty will signal victory for opponents of SALT II within the Soviet lead-

ership and better their chances in the power struggle now so widely, though not competently, discussed in the Western press.

#### Who in the USSR needs SALT II

Generally speaking, SALT is absolutely necessary to those who carry the burden of military expenses on their shoulders. First and foremost the managers of peacetime industry have an interest in curtailing military expenditures. This includes both the producers of consumer goods and those who produce agricultural machinery, automobiles, building materials, etc. Agricultural production in particular needs a reduction of the military budget and a smaller army. For many years now mandatory, universal military service has been the major pathway for young people out of agricultural regions and collective farms. Only a small percentage of soldiers return to the village after military service.

The arms race placed a heavy burden on the country during the 1950s, but then the memory of great losses in the war was still fresh. The creation of military power was a generally shared goal. The development of military production was intimately connected with technological reconstruction in many fields and "pulled them up" to a new level. Atomic reactors created a base for atomic power stations, passenger jets were developed out of research on military bombers, and tank factories often turned into heavy tractors that were indispensable for claiming the virgin lands of Siberia and Kazakhstan.

Now this "cooperation" has practically ended. Military jets move at speeds passenger planes cannot attain, the production of rockets has few peaceful applications, and the scale of military production has grown to such an extent that military factories do not help the "peaceful ministries" fulfill their plans, but the other way around.

This seriously hampers the country's economic plan of development. According to many indicators the ninth Five Year Plan of 1971-75 was not fulfilled,

and its hierarchy, discipline, technical equipment, and its relation to past traditions the Soviet Army has many characteristics in common with the American, British, French, and Japanese armies, even though the political systems of these countries vary greatly. Communism as a governmental system dates back about sixty years, but the Russian army even now cultivates a tradition going back centuries. Speaking only of the 20th century, the Russian army remembers well the defeats of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-5, the defeat in World War I, and the heavy setbacks of 1941 and 1942, when German divisions reached the outskirts of Moscow and the banks of the Volga.

However, in none of these wars did the Russian or Soviet army sustain such heavy losses of officers and commanding staff as were destroyed during the Stalinist terror of 1937-38.

In the book *Let History Judge* I cited a few figures showing losses in the Red Army during the years of terror. From among thousands of the best commanders and commissars more than half the marshals, more than eighty percent of all generals, about 80 percent of divisional and fleet commanders, admirals and military technical specialists were arrested and shot. Almost all the experienced military commanders who had gone through World War I and the Civil War were annihilated. At the start of the War in 1941 more than 70 percent of all commanders and commissars from the regiment up (division, corps, army) had held their posts no longer than a year. These were neophytes with only junior officer training and with no real battle experience.

At the present time even official versions of the last war tie the Soviet army's serious defeats in 1941-42 to this oppression. But military history also connects the defeats of 1904-5, the destruction of the Russian army in World War I, and even the early defeats and tremendous losses the USSR suffered in the 1939 war against little Finland with the weak Russian state and poor political system.

## The Soviet military is not keen on SALT, while consumers are for it.

but the "Jubilee" tenth Five Year Plan of 1976-80 is faring even worse, and the rate of development has fallen behind plan in almost every branch of production. Only the military industry has developed quickly since 1970.

Twenty to thirty years ago the country's resources in raw materials had vast but not unlimited reserves. Now the peaceful and military sectors of the economy consume such large quantities of raw materials that competition has arisen between them. Meanwhile, not only bombs, rockets, and submarines, but reserves of raw materials (oil, uranium ore, and many others) have taken on strategic importance and are calculated in the general balance of the abilities of the USSR and the U.S.

This situation is most apparent to the planning organs of the Soviet economy and to all branches of industry not connected too intimately with the military system. The majority of ordinary ministries, the leadership of the national republics, the regional party committees (obkomy), and a significant part of the central party apparatus have an interest in limiting arms. For this part of the government and party elite of the USSR, SALT is a first, indispensable step in this direction.

#### Who in the USSR opposes SALT II

The military apparatus in almost all countries has an autonomous, "totali-

turned to Marshal Zhukov at the Ministry of Defense for help. In the course of one day, using military aircraft, Zhukov flew over 100 members of an expanded Plenum of the Central Committee to Moscow and the decision of the Presidium was rescinded. The opponents of Khrushchev—Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovich, Shepilov (and later Bulganin, Saburov, Pervukhin, and Voroshilov) were expelled from the Central Committee and a few from the party itself.

It was at this meeting that Brezhnev became a member of the Presidium, as did Marshal Zhukov. Khrushchev, fearing the possibility of another "military overthrow," retired Zhukov while the marshal was travelling officially in Yugoslavia. In Zhukov's place Khrushchev appointed Marshal Malinovsky, whom Khrushchev considered less capable of decisive action. Nonetheless, in 1964 when Suslov and Shelepin were preparing the removal of Khrushchev himself, it was Malinovsky whose support was needed to carry out the plot. According to their scenario for the change in leadership, Shelepin, who had the support of the KGB, would have taken Khrushchev's place. Suslov, with the backing of the party apparatus, would have been second in line. The appointment of Brezhnev was unexpected, but he was supported by the military as the only Presidium member who had shown real military merit during the war and who had "front line" friendships with many generals and marshals.

One cannot ignore the fact that actions so laden with political consequences as the military suppression of the Hungarian uprising in 1956 and the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968 were undertaken to a significant degree under pressure from the military, out of strategic considerations. In almost any country the army lives its own life and is not subject to variations because of economic difficulties. A country may be suffering a shortage of foodstuffs, but army rations do not change as a result. The army demands weaponry and strives not after equality, but superiority over its adversaries. In both the U.S. and the USSR the primary opponents of SALT are military men, though for different reasons. In the USSR a large part of the KGB is subordinate to the army and the General Staff. Only a small department of the KGB performs the role of the "political police."

I think that many military men in the U.S. oppose SALT II mainly because over the last 30 years they have become too accustomed to planning their actions in circumstances of absolute strategic superiority. It seems to them that the U.S. can and should return to its Number One position. The Soviet military command had the clear problem of equaling and surpassing the U.S. in strategic and tactical weapons. The first half of this goal has been carried out, and as for the second, stages of clear superiority could be achieved in the course of a few years. Certainly Soviet marshals are none too confident of the wisdom of "parity" only with the U.S. when China and Western Europe also have strategic weapons.

The Soviet leadership did not hurry SALT II negotiations along. It even induced anti-Soviet statements by Carter and his close associates in the U.S. The ostentatious arrests of Ginzburg, Orlov, and Sharansky were carried out on the eve of Secretary of State Vance's first visit to Moscow with new proposals for SALT. The KGB had been accumulating evidence in these cases for over two years, so the date chosen for taking action on them could hardly have been accidental. The trials of these dissidents, whom President Carter seemed to take under his personal protection, were postponed several times. They took place only in 1978 concurrently with the SALT II negotiations in Geneva. In response to the trials President Carter took a number of demonstratively anti-Soviet actions (refusal to sell a computer, cancellation of trips to the USSR by govern-

Continued on page 16.



JOHN SAUL

## Zambia's half-hearted support for liberation

Lusaka, Zambia—Zambia, half-hearted host for liberation movements: both terms in this description are important. It is perhaps too easy to forget that Zambia remains a host for such movements as the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the South-West African Peoples Union (SWAPO) and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). Yet the half-heartedness of Zambia's involvement in the cause of liberation is also apparent, and is a fact of at least equal potential significance for the future of the struggle in southern Africa.

Two things work to qualify Zambia's role. One is the country's domestic social and political structure. President Kaunda's homespun philosophy of "Zambian Humanism" has had just enough social-democratic content, over the years, to underwrite a considerable program of nationalization and thus to involve the Zambian state deeply in the country's economy.

Unfortunately, the nationalization of the crucial copper industry has not freed Zambia from the international copper corporations (nor from the perils of a sharply declining copper price). The expansion of the state into this and other sectors has merely expanded the number of bureaucrats who swirl around the structures of Zambia's "state capitalism," seeking to spin off into lucrative careers in the private sector. In the absence of politicization of the populace and its mobilization into deeply-rooted socialist proj-

ects, this elite makes most of the running in Zambia.

Talks with members confirmed reports I had concerning the character of this elite. Smug in its privilege, it has little stomach for a drawn out fight. A leading left activist of the governing party (UNIP) spoke to me of the need for an opening towards the Muzorewa regime and for an accommodation with the settlers. He took the opportunity to heap scorn on Zimbabweans in general, and on their liberation movements in particular.

Surprisingly, he did not mention the economic imperatives that might give an even better rationalization for a pliable Zambian stance towards the new Rhodesian regime. For the second set of background factors that help to shape Zambia's policies relate to country's continuing economic dependence: its weak productive base, its land-locked status and its inherited links to southern African

trade, investment and access to the sea.

Zambia has paid a considerable price for its attempts to cut back, since Rhodesia's 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence, on its links with the south. This is one reason for its current economic crisis. But lavish misguided infrastructural development, gross mismanagement of agriculture and absence of any real attempt to plan for fundamental economic transformation have also taken their toll.

Now, when alternative supply routes—like the Benguela and Tanzam railways and the Botswana ferry—seem less certain, the familiar South Africa route through Rhodesia is a tempting potential lifeline for the importation of badly needed fertilizers and other commodities. This prompted Kaunda last year to open his border for rail traffic from Rhodesia and the south. This year there is talk of reopening road links. Talk with the Muzorewa camp is actively encouraging, even though Muzorewa cannot guarantee the safety of such routes from guerrilla attack.

Viewed against this background, it is small wonder that many of President Kaunda's moves are viewed with suspicion both by liberation movements and fellow front-line states. During the Angolan civil war, for example, he first backed UNITA, a self-evident instrument of Western and South African intrigue, against MPLA. In so doing he was suspected of having yielded, all too willingly, to South African pressures. Secret meetings with Ian Smith in recent years and his offer earlier this year to meet with Bishop Muzorewa, even when subsequently rationalized in suitably militant terms, have also worried skeptics.

It is, therefore, perhaps more surprising to find Zambia doing so much to aid the liberation movements further south than to find its efforts so ambiguous.

To be sure, the mass of the Zambian population has borne rather stoically the costs of Zambia's role. But they are scarcely demanding support for the guerrillas. Nor have they been mobilized as they would have to be if a more active resistance to Rhodesia's air-raids were contemplated. In an untransformed, class-

ridden Zambia there is quite simply no obvious base for the policy of continuing confrontation.

They key would appear to be Kaunda himself. A master tactician and very tough old pol, he has managed to place himself firmly at the center of Zambia's political process, and is holding most of the strings. Above the swirl of petty-bourgeois politicking, he then dictates a somewhat more progressive policy towards southern Africa than circumstances might otherwise seem to dictate.

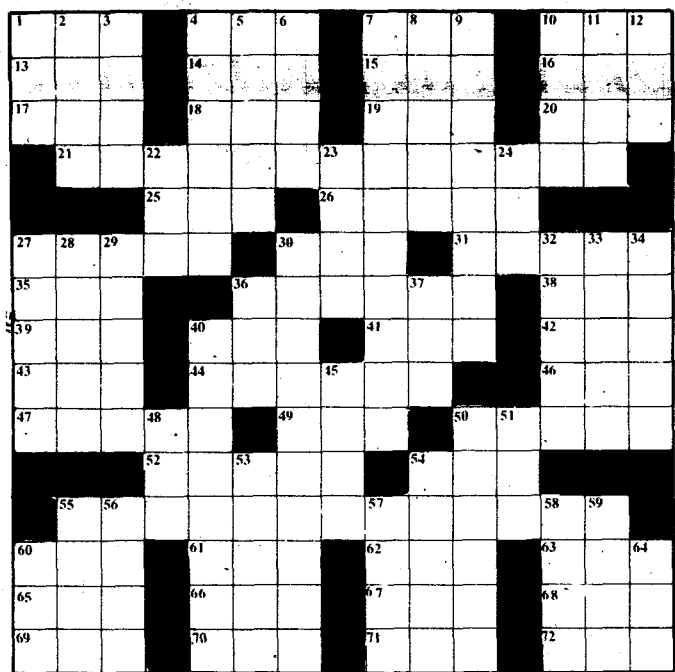
What motivates him? Moral suasion from his fellow, and more militant, front-line presidents, Nyerere, Machel and Neto? His own considerable ego and self-image as a shaper of history? His undoubted nationalism and attachment to "humanist values"? Hard to say, although it is equally difficult not to find this a distressingly fragile foundation for a policy that pulls against the weight of class interest and economic independence.

It is not surprising, then, that Zambia remains a target for the Muzorewa-Smith regime in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, even if the latter's strategy remains ambiguous: part stick, part carrot.

What will be the result? There is probably some concern in Western policy-making circles that too much pressure might force Kaunda to attempt to radicalize his own political base, or to seek further Eastern assistance. On the other hand, there must be some hope that under such pressure Kaunda will continue to be one of the more "reasonable" of the front-line presidents.

In Zambia, as elsewhere, the future of the front-line states (they include, in addition to Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania and Botswana) is as much a part of the struggle for southern Africa as is the future of the territories still effectively under white domination.

*This is the second in a series of on-the-spot articles about southern Africa by John S. Saul, whose latest book, 'The State and Revolution in Eastern Africa, has just been published by Monthly Review Press.*



### Presidential Proclamation

By David Mermelstein

#### DOWN

- 2 Write further  
4 Form of punctuation: Abbr.  
7 "Charlotte's"  
10 Guided  
13 Contemporary architect  
14 Aunt, in Toledo  
15 "the king's men..."  
16 Biblical lion  
17 Building extension  
18 Cooking ingredient  
19 Do Mt. Mansfield, e.g.  
20 Coin of Norway  
21 And a born-again Christian said this!  
25 Thus far  
26 Covered with cotton wastes  
27 Cut back  
30 Press man Ziegler  
31 One who fishes  
35 Gershwin  
36 Eccentric old man  
38 Ex. N.D. coach

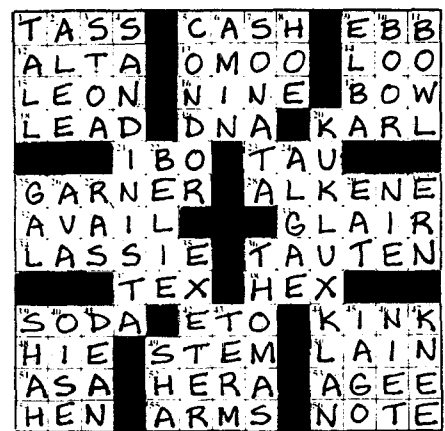
- 39 Fishing or accounting term  
40 Sometime ball player  
41 Intimate Fr. pronoun  
42 Adage  
43 Article, in Le Havre  
44 Shudder  
46 Literary initials  
47 Outmoded  
49 What JEC did, in '76  
50 More discerning  
52 Kills, as flies  
54 Be convened  
55 To whom the anatomy of 21 Across belongs  
60 Goddess personifying recklessness  
61 Latin city, for short  
62 Decay  
63 Bend an  
65 Bernadette, e.g.: Abbr.  
66 Neighbor of Md.  
67 Be in debt  
68 "The Greatest"  
69 Non-kosher meat

- 70 Direction: Abbr.  
71 Neighbor of Isr.  
72 Molasses-based drink

#### ACROSS

- 1 Mimic  
2 Where to buy 69 Down  
3 Salad herb  
4 Drunk  
5 Homophone of 60 Across  
6 Wise men  
7 Temporary home of 21 Down  
8 N. Carolina town  
9 Sunning problems  
10 Souphanouvong's country  
11 Makes mistakes  
12 Cutting device  
22 Dangerous chemicals  
23 Trudge on  
24 Assenting vote  
27 Convict's companion  
28 Sporting area  
29 Evaluates  
30 Pineapple in the running?  
32 Survives  
33 Obliterate  
34 More damp and chilly  
36 Dog  
37 Poetic contraction  
40 Cabin attendant  
45 Hide  
48 See 70 Across  
50 Season for 34 Across  
51 Suffix for Trotsky  
53 S. Amer. city, in part  
54 \_\_\_\_\_ egret  
55 Woman's name  
56 Judge  
57 Part of Marcuse title  
58 Letter opener  
59 River of note, 1950-53  
60 Residue  
64 Hoop

The answer to the previous puzzle is:



## Medvedev on SALT

Continued from page 15.

ment delegations, etc.). This certainly worsened relations between the U.S. and the USSR for a period of time, but it improved the position of those people in the USSR who are determined not to lower the level achieved in strategic arms.

### Possible Soviet Reactions to a Senate defeat of SALT II

The USSR spends a significantly greater share of its national income on defense needs than does the U.S. But this does not mean that the Soviet Union would be in a more difficult situation if SALT II collapsed. For the Soviet economy the arms build-up is simply a continuation along the same even course it has followed for decades. Currently the collapse of the treaty could only occur at the initiative of the American side, and this would cast the U.S. in the role of potential aggressor. Under the conditions of the hidden power struggle now going on as a consequence of Brezhnev's obvious illness, the collapse of the treaty would distinctly improve the chances for the representatives of the army and the KGB—Ustinov and Andropov—to gain power in the Politburo.

The opinion of some American "experts" that the USSR would agree to new negotiations should the treaty not be ratified is not justified by history. If the growth in arms continues, the USSR will take a significantly more harsh position in any future negotiations. The Senate's refusal to ratify would strike much more at the prestige of the American government and would justify any Soviet action taken in defense of Soviet interests around the world.

Military experts evaluate the SALT II treaty according to the number of nuclear warheads, the size of rockets, and the comparison of bombers with submarines. But actual, technical military equality is unachievable. The U.S. and the USSR

developed their strategic forces along different paths and at different times. Many technical decisions were different. Geographically, the Soviet Union is bigger than the U.S. in size and population, and has greater natural resources. A large portion of the Soviet border and the borders of the Warsaw Pact countries have troops and arms concentrations distributed along them. The necessity of protecting its own borders is a reality the U.S. has never had to face. This creates an essential difference in the psychology of the population and in its ability to withstand the economic hardships of military expenses.

To calculate the "fairness" of SALT II by the megatonnage of nuclear warheads for the USSR and the U.S. is absurd and lacking perspective. The treaty signed in Vienna is primarily a political and economic decision. It restrains not only the strategic weapons of the countries, but the military and political ambitions of the militaristic circles in the USSR and the U.S. It is perfectly evident that the people speaking out against the treaty in the U.S. now are the producers and sellers of arms and their representatives in the Senate. For the USSR it would be easier not only to stretch out the arms race, but to curtail it without fundamental economic problems. If SALT II is ratified a political faction favoring cuts in the military budget really will appear. I do not believe that those in the U.S. who claim that after a fiasco with SALT II it will be possible to conclude a new, "better" treaty really believe this. I see another prospect as more realistic. A negative decision by the Senate could lead to the election of the former commander of NATO forces as president of the U.S., and the next leader of the USSR would be the head of the KGB or the Minister of Defense. What consequences these changes would have for real disarmament are self evident.



## BOOKS

# Europe a bastion of global stability

**EUROPE BETWEEN THE SUPER-  
POWERS: The Enduring Balance**  
By A.W. DePorte  
Yale University Press, 1979, \$18.50

By William Burr

A.W. DePorte's *Europe Between the Superpowers* argues that the system of European states forged during the Cold War can serve as an anchor for global stability well into the next century. DePorte is a member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff (which has played a major role in shaping national strategy since 1947). This makes his book particularly useful in getting a glimpse into the minds of American foreign policy planners.

DePorte's premise is that the decade 1945-1955, "the system building years," produced institutional means for resolving long-standing European political and economic tensions. That task had eluded both European and American rulers since Germany became a great power in search of an empire in the late 19th century.

Two world wars reflected earlier failures at muting imperial rivalries. Though the post-war rivalry between the U.S. and USSR has been very dangerous at times, the new state system that it developed has been stable. There have been no European wars and there are no prospects in sight for any.

The author's view of Cold War origins shows influence of the "revisionist" diplomatic historians. The Truman administration, he writes, showed "amazing incomprehension" of Soviet foreign policy priorities, especially the Russians' insistence on a security zone in Eastern Europe. The USSR was a co-victor in World War II, and a great power with its own legitimate security interest. But Washington would not draw "realistic conclusions" from this fact of world politics and stuck to its historic policy against spheres of influence. Truman had concluded that American economic and military supremacy, along with its ethically "superior" universalistic prescriptions for world peace, gave the U.S. the right to "get 85 percent" if not 100 percent of its objectives in Europe. DePorte concludes that this "American failure" of perception turned what would have become a "natural" rivalry between two great powers into a more serious cold war.

Washington's refusal to compromise, however, led to eventual solutions of basic European problems on a basis that the theoretician of "containment," George F. Kennan, would have found immoral (because it left the Soviet sphere intact), and Kennan's chief critic, Walter Lippmann, would have judged impossible (since it left Germany divided). The *sturm und drang* of the Cold War forced each superpower to develop alliances and institutional methods of settling economic, political and security problems within, and between, the respective blocs.

Thus, the Atlantic world developed NATO, first and foremost, but also the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, growing out of the Marshall Plan. And the Soviet bloc developed the Warsaw Pact and COMECON. Since the alliances accurately reflected the balance of power in a divided Europe, the new state system permitted a degree of stability unknown since the 1890s.

The element of the post-war system that has enabled it to endure, the author argues, is its resolution of the German question. Given the alternatives, he suggests, the integration of a divided Germany into the competing NATO and Warsaw Pact alliances was the most practical way to prevent it from turning into a power with imperial ambitions. An early settlement of the German question—neutralization and re-unification in 1946 or 1947—could have left both sides without the means to restrain German power,

with unpredictable and perhaps dangerous consequences. DePorte assumes that both East and West find it to their interest to maintain a divided Germany and have no interest in taking a chance on the outcome of reunification.

DePorte contends that the European state-system, with its U.S. and USSR-oriented sub-systems, will probably give it a "strong lease on the future." The Warsaw Pact's cement is military power: the USSR has the will and the means to perpetuate it and has secured Western acquiescence in it. As for the "Atlantic community" (and its relation with Japan), it provides a broad field for trade and investment expansion, and has survived the monetary crises of the 1970s, growing even more cohesive. Institutional mechanisms have developed (economic summits, central bank policy co-ordination, special OECD planning committees, etc.) that have permitted inter-capitalist co-operation in the face of structural economic problems. Furthermore, so long as European rulers perceive the USSR as a security threat, they will continue to find it advantageous to remain in the Atlantic Pact under the American nuclear umbrella.

The prospect of stability for the European state-system is to be welcomed to the extent that it guarantees peace between the U.S. and USSR and between the industrial capitalist nations. Histori-

cally, European imperialist expansion and world wars have short-circuited the Western socialist movement's progress. The prospects of an era of European peace may permit unrelieved attention on "internal" affairs.

DePorte, however, points to "challenges" (i.e., problems) internal to the Western system that may severely test its durability and generate new political alignments within and between the Euro-Atlantic states. These challenges included recession/inflation, the German question, and the possibility of full European military and political integration, creating a neutral "third force" between the U.S. and USSR.

The author gives only a cursory examination of the "challenge" of recession, but that may be the reef on which the post-war system founders. It is open to question whether summit meetings or central bank cooperation can create outlets for the flood of surplus capital awash in Western money markets and corporate treasuries.

International expansion no longer appears to be a viable means of crisis management. In the aggregate, the third world has proven to be a narrow investment outlet; industrialized capitalist nations have tended to trade and invest more in each other's markets. If the capital glut proves intractable, it could force state-capitalist planning throughout the West

as nations and customs unions try to insulate themselves from international economic instability.

Thus, if the current recession deepens and becomes prolonged it may accelerate a "closed door" European integration. It may also promote the recently revived talk of German reunification. DePorte is too complacent about the extent to which all the parties concerned, especially the German Social Democrats, are satisfied with the existing division of Germany.

What are the current policy implications of DePorte's analysis? He would probably argue at planning staff meetings that accommodation with the USSR, through such means as SALT, is the only realistic way to sustain the North Atlantic bloc and a tightly integrated Western capitalism. He and others recognize that the USSR is a world power with legitimate interests that the U.S. must meet half-way. Paul Nitze and other old-line cold warriors see a vast acceleration of the arms race and a renewal of anti-Soviet bellicosity as a viable mode of stabilization. DePorte would tend to see rejection of SALT as a sure way to weaken Western Europe's allegiance to NATO, given European reluctance to increase defense spending and their interest (especially Germany's) in continued normalization of political and economic relations with the USSR. ■

## BOOKS

## Conservatives interpret Vietnam war

By Paul Joseph

Conservatives are now having their say on the Vietnam war.

Their conclusion—that Washington could have won—is significant for future American foreign policy.

Washington fought a brutal war that cost over \$150 billion, millions of lives and dumped more bombs on Vietnam than in all of World War II.

Yet the war was fought within limits and according to definite rules.

During the Johnson years, American armed forces could not invade North Vietnam, Cambodia or Laos, bomb the north in a way that might provoke the Soviets or Chinese, or commit the estimated one million ground troops that might have defeated the National Liberation Front.

Conservatives argue these constraints were self-imposed by timorous and vacillating liberals.

They cite ex-president Nixon's easing of the limits on the bombing of the North and the Cambodian and Laotian invasions as moves Johnson should have made to beef up his offensive.

While there were both public and private policy statements by the conservatives—especially in the '60s—calling for a containment of communism in the south and some silencing of South Vietnamese generals advocating a campaign across the border, contributors to the conservative essay collections, *The Lessons of Vietnam* and *All Quiet on the Eastern Front*, said the U.S. could have won in 1968, and again in 1972—but backed off at critical moments.

*New York Times* Pentagon correspondent Drew Middleton wrote, "The war was de-escalated at the moment when most soldiers and airmen believed the Communist losses in the Tet Offensive offered the U.S. and South Vietnam an opportunity to resume the offensive with a good chance of success."

Tet became a classic instance of winning the military battle but losing the political war.

Presidential counter-insurgency adviser Sir Robert Thompson made a similar point about 1972 and the impact of B-52 raids on North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

"Hanoi could see the situation coming by the end of 1972," Thompson said. "Their rear bases were really under attack and the South Vietnamese rear bases, at the same time, were in good shape. In my view, on Dec. 30, 1972, after 11 days of those B-52 attacks on the Hanoi area, you had won the war. It was over," Thompson said.

Thompson claims the North Vietnamese had used up their surface-to-air missiles (SAM) and that resupply was next to impossible. He said Hanoi was at the mercy of Washington, explaining a peace agreement signing in January rather than October.

The counter argument is that it was the U.S. B-52 fleet, not Communist SAMs, that were in danger of depletion.

The January peace pact contained no further North Vietnamese concessions from the October 1972 version.

Liberals at the management level of the war usually argued the escalation called for by the right would have provoked Soviet countermoves in Berlin, Iran or the Mideast and a possible bailout for Vietnamese communists by Chinese ground troops.

The right wing, of course, says the liberals were overly cautious, claiming Soviet countermoves were not logistically feasible and citing post-1962 USSR foreign policy to avoid confrontations with the West. We can expect right-wing reinterpretations of the disputes of the mid-'60s, concluding that the friction between Peking and Hanoi was greater than Robert McNamara and Lyndon Johnson realized in light of the recent fighting between the neighboring communist nations.

The recent China-Vietnam war adds credibility to the conservative argument that Peking was not interested in making any major sacrifices to aid the Vietnamese in their anti-imperialist battle with the U.S. Thompson now argues that American bombs could have killed 100 or

even 5000 Chinese working in Vietnam without causing Peking "to blink an eye."

Paul Nitze, who has held a number of State Department and Pentagon positions over the last 30 years and is now a leading speaker for the Committee on Present Danger, reduces the anti-war movement to an attempt by the "brightest boys" to restore a sense of manhood made uncertain by their efforts to avoid the draft.

Nitze argues better "management of the domestic front" would have prevented "erosion of will at home," thus permitting an American victory. Control over inflationary pressures could have been achieved by raising taxes, with congressional appeasement to the draft controversy by calling up more reserves and fairer draft procedures.

Peter Braestrup's analysis of American media coverage of the Tet Offensive and the March 1969 crisis, *Big Story*, is a key element of the right's examination of domestic restraints on the war machinery.

Braestrup said the media helped the Viet Cong's political victory despite a shaken but surviving pacification program after the Tet attacks.

According to *Big Story*, South Vietnamese and American soldiers fought harder and with better morale than depicted in the American press. Braestrup argues Khe Sanh was not another Dien Bienphu, but a lure for communists that allowed the Air Force to kill thousands of North Vietnamese.

He said the U.S. press had been optimistic until Tet, with a shift towards pessimism intensifying a feeling of crisis by the public.

With the political battles of the Vietnam war far from over, the right wing is using its interpretation of the American defeat to curb the press, further cloak foreign policy and defense issues in the appeal to national security and ease the current restraints on the use of military force.

Next time, the conservatives argue, the doctrines of "gradualism" should be abandoned for an all-out fight to the finish. ■



# Philadelphia cops

Continued from p. 5.

"He perpetuates this fallacy that it is an 'us' against 'them' world," said Steve Bennett. "Rizzo says that the only way to overcome the problem is to take care of all the bad guys."

In stark contrast to the mayor, the Guardian League works to lessen the polarization between black and white communities.

"If we increase cultural knowledge," Bennett said, "it will help reduce violence at each level."

Under James' leadership the league has sponsored rap sessions in communities throughout the city to show people that policemen are not all of one mind. This summer they initiated a youth employment program aimed at "keeping 45 poor kids off the streets and out of trouble."

Each day these young people meet to receive tutoring, to work on neighborhood improvement projects and to assist the league in conducting a community needs survey for North Philadelphia.

"You should see their attitudes change," said Fred Bailey, the Guardian member who oversees the program. "Give these kids some money and a little direction and they respond."

It is these young people who are taking an inside look at the Philadelphia Police

Academy on this overcast Saturday morning. Above the sounds of barking police dogs and gunfire from the rifle range, Bailey explains the purpose of the visit.

"We're trying to give these kids an idea that policemen are human beings too. If they understand the policeman better, maybe the street corner confrontation won't take place next time."

Denise Scruggs, 17, seemed particularly curious throughout the tour.

"Yes, I'd like to be a police woman," she said. "I start college this fall and will be taking management courses. I'd like to come back and work in the department."

Bailey recognizes that showing the human being behind the uniform to members of the community is only part of the solution. He wants to see officers assigned to neighborhoods where they live.

"Five guys who care about the area can do more good in a neighborhood than 50 men who have no regular contact," he said.

Putting the cops back in touch with the communities seems to be the thrust of the Guardian Civic League's approach. Driven by this deeply felt need to lessen racial and cultural hostilities, the Guardians are part of a movement that is set to begin reconstruction in a post-Rizzo Philadelphia.



Guardian Civic league tutors youngsters and assists neighborhoods.

## Andrew Young

Continued from p. 3.

he asserts. Yoav Peled, the son of leading Israeli dove General Matti Peled and an activist in Sheli, and Israeli socialist party, blames his government for the frigid relations between blacks and Jews caused by the incident. "In making a formal protest and forcing Carter to fire Young," Peled said, "the Israeli government acted in cynical disregard for the interests of American Jews."

As to the political ramifications of the resignation on President Carter's hopes for reelection, most observers are taking a wait and see attitude. "From the very beginning Carter has had a problem winning the confidence of American Jews," ventured one Senate staffer. "Now he looks to have trouble with the 92 percent of blacks who voted for him in 1976 even if Young campaigns for Carter's reelection."

Ben Brown, deputy director of the Carter-Mondale Reelection Committee, minimized the damage, even touting it as a plus. "If we take the following three points," he told IN THESE TIMES, "the results can't help but be positive. First, Andy honorably accepted responsibility for a breach in policy. Secondly, President Carter did make a point of applauding Andy's contributions to American policy in the Third World, Africa in particular. Finally, Andy has reaffirmed his support for the President and promised to campaign for him in 1980."

"Since Martin Luther King, this is the first time the entire black community has rallied behind a single person," argues Brown, who served with Carter in the Georgia legislature and is close to both the President and Young. "Since Andy won't be constrained by protocol, he'll be a more effective leader and better able to help the President. We know that Jews are already disgruntled with the President but Black support will be forthcoming when the Administration's record is made clear."

At the United Nations, few ambassadors were willing to comment on the record about Young's departure, although the envoy from one African nation expressed concern over Israel's "hold on U.S. Middle East policymaking." The PLO response was cautious. "We deplore the conditions—the intellectual and political persecution—that led to Mr. Young's resignation," Hassan Rahman Hassan, the PLO's deputy chief at the UN told IN THESE TIMES. "We see no real shift in policy by the Carter Administration but rather a growing consciousness among the public and within the Administration that any peace must include the Palestinians. This is met with resistance, even blackmail by the Zionists."

With the failure of Robert Strauss' 11th hour mission to Israel and Egypt with a compromise resolution to supplant the more explicitly pro-PLO Kuwaiti proposal, observers now expect Andrew Young—under orders from his government—to veto the Kuwaiti resolution when it comes before the Security Council on Aug. 23. The best bets for possible successors to Young as ambassador will center on an envoy acceptable to the Third World and Africa. The frontrunners at this point in time are Young lieutenant Donald McHenry, former Iowa senator Dick Clark, and former Texas congresswoman Barbara Jordan.

Ironically Young, who has expressed no regrets about the PLO meeting and indicated he would do it again if he had it to do over, might well have been in hot water with the Administration even had the encounter not come to light.

The day before his resignation, in a newspaper interview, Young crossed swords with official policy by calling for an end to the economic blockade against Cuba and diplomatic recognition of Cuba and Vietnam. He also denounced Administration plans to increase defense spending and deploy the MX missile. In an administration increasingly oriented to loyalty and team play since the Cabinet shakeup of July, Young's straight talk had become a liability.

As Ben Brown noted, Andy Young has flung aside his restraints but it still remains to be seen whether his freewheeling style will prove a boon to the President or a thorn in the administration's side particularly in efforts to mollify Israeli suspicions about a policy shift in Washington.

## kapitalistate

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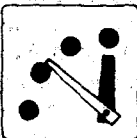
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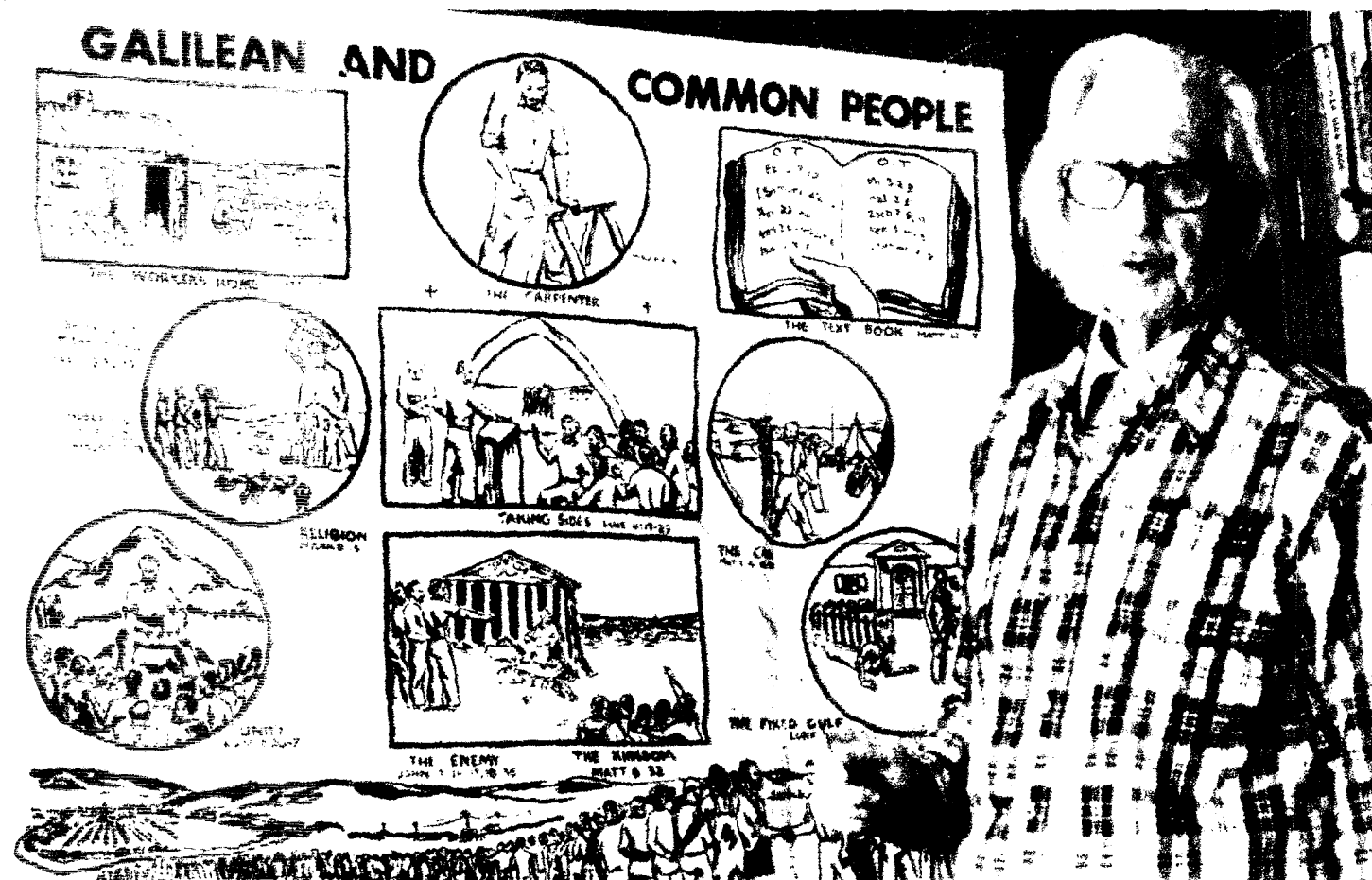
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# LIFE IN THE U.S.

## SOCIAL ACTIVISTS



**Claude Williams:** one of Claude Williams' religious charts.

“heresy”—the only such trial in the 20th century. Crosses were burned on the Williams’ lawn, fires were set on their property and their dog was shot. Yet this violence always stopped short of running them out of town. The Williams had the respect of many of their neighbors and were known as the people you sent to if you needed food, clothing, medicine or advice on farming techniques.

Despite continuing harassment in the late '50s, the Williams resumed open political activism. They worked in voter registration drives in the black community of Bessemer, Ala., helped train people for Mississippi Freedom Summer, and became enthusiastic participants in civil rights and anti-war movements in the Birmingham area. As the terror lifted, a new generation of southern activists discovered the Williams and came to them for advice, inspiration and, sometimes, a meal and a place to stay. Known as "Mom" and "Pop" to everyone they met, they placed their mimeograph machines, their typewriters and their refrigerator at the disposal of their young friends and helped raise money for them from their network of northern supporters.

Religion was always the primary medium through which Williams expressed his political views. But at the same time, Claude identified with the Communist Party and regarded public criticism of its policies—or those of the Soviet Union—as giving aid and comfort to the enemy. For 40 years, Claude kept his criticism of the Communist Party private, while remaining stubbornly immune to its discipline.

Claude Williams was a populist by instinct. He fought a lifelong battle to sensitize leftists to the progressive potential of religion and the need to work within the institutions that working people had created—churches, unions, political clubs. He took pride in being a good neighbor, and berated those who assumed conspiratorial airs and hid their insecurities behind Marxist theory. He could be dogmatic and overbearing, but his kindness and generosity were so striking that even political opponents liked him personally.

Claude Williams was no saint—but few people in our century have more effectively embodied the potential of American socialism to become a genuinely popular movement.

# Bible-thumper was a leftist

**Dr. Mark Nelson**

**C**LAUDE WILLIAMS HAD ONE of the most remarkable careers in the American left. Born in the hill region of Tennessee, Williams became a hell-fire and damnation preacher for the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. But after participating in a seminar for Southern churchmen sponsored by Dr. Alva Taylor, Williams became a socialist and until his death in July supported labor and civil rights struggles in the South. He communicated a message of labor solidarity and racial justice with equal facility to southern blacks and whites.

Williams was an earthy, country-bred man who could share a drink with the poorest sharecropper and swap yarns about hunting, gambling and army life. Big and raw-boned, with a raucous sense of humor that had a good dose of sexual innuendo, Williams never lost his love for the land or for the cadence of farm life. The last time I saw him, when he was 82, he was still strangling chickens with his bare hands.

Williams' organizing was based on an adaptation of the message of fundamentalist religion. Brought up, like many southern working folk, in a tradition of Biblical literalism, Williams concluded that the Bible could be a formidable weapon to help bring southern blacks and whites together.

With the help of his wife Joyce, a brilliant and soft-spoken woman who also had a church background, Williams developed illustrated charts that used biblical quotes and symbols to support the major causes of the Popular Front Era: trade unionism, anti-fascism, support for civil rights. Claude and Joyce set up a training program for black and white fundamentalist preachers called the People's Institute of Applied Religion, and sent them in as organizers in unionization drives throughout the South.

From 1936 through 1939, Williams worked in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. In 1941 and 1942, he and his preachers/organizers participated in a CIO organizing drive in Memphis, helping the unions survive a reign of terror unleashed by the Boss Crupp machine. And in '43 and '44, Williams' preachers worked among the tobacco workers in

Winston-Salem, N.C., and with sharecroppers and pecan workers in Texas.

In the mid '40s Williams was invited to Detroit by the presbytery of that city to work among southern migrants who had come to work in defense plants. The southern white communities of Detroit were filled with anti-Semitic and white supremacist preachers, who were given free reign of the auto plants by the Ford Motor Company. Lunch hour at the Ford plants was punctuated with prayer meetings, many of them spreading messages antagonistic to the union. With UAW and church aid, Williams trained black and white preachers to go into the plants and hold prayer meetings that emphasized unionism and racial tolerance.

After the war, Claude and Joyce moved to Birmingham, Ala., where they worked with the local labor movement and prepared to put their program at the disposal of the CIO organizing drive in the South. But in the climate of the Cold War, it became impossible for them to work. From the late '30s, Williams had maintained close ties to the Communist Party and when radio preachers like Carl McIntyre publicized this fact, white supremacist groups in Birmingham began harassing the Williams at their home and office. In 1948, the Williams left Birmingham for a farm in nearby Shelby County, where they tried to continue their work.

In 1953, Claude was put on trial by the Presbyterian Church and expelled for

# A woman's life of quiet heroism

### By Cook County Hospital Staff

Florence Gowgiel, like many of the Chicago elderly, lived alone in her tiny apartment in a high-rise. And she died a cancer patient in Cook County Hospital. But unlike many of her neighbors, Florence never passively accepted the problems she saw around her. Florence spent her last days in the hospital that she had fought to keep open for over a year.

Unaware of the spreading cancer within her, Florence joined the Committee to Save Cook County Hospital after learning that hundreds of workers had been laid off and many vital patient services had been threatened. After attending one meeting, she started a petition campaign and began inundating newspaper editors with letters in support of County.

The record number of letters she was able to get printed amazed everyone, and Florence gladly shared the secret of her success: "I called the editors up to see if they had lost my letters and if maybe I should write again." She would end up arguing about the need for the hospital and learned how little she actually knew. At the next meeting she would bring up her questions. "I learned so much," she said, insisting that she had gotten more from the Committee than she could ever contribute.

**Florence Gowgiel's quiet, small-town**

style, plus the legacy of the McCarthy witchhunts, belied her activist history, which spanned the post-war era in the Midwest.

Her father was a socialist and a rank-and-file leader. But Florence, as a girl growing up in Argo, Ill., was only annoyed at her father's preoccupation with issues she found irrelevant. Only much later did his dinner table conversation take on meaning to her.

She was outraged when her son-in-law returned from the Korea war a paraplegic. She organized the Committee to Save Our Sons in 1952. As its national president, she led a demonstration confronting South Korean dictator Syngman Rhee at Chicago's Midway airport. Later she helped found the Peace Gardens in the shadow of the Argonne National nuclear facility. The gardens were planted with flower seeds from around the world to symbolize their slogan: "Exchange seeds, not bombs." Florence became the first woman to attend an international peace conference during the McCarthy period. "The local newspapers kept referring to me as a foreign traitor, even though I'd lived here all my life."

She was called before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1956. On the morning of the hearing, she distributed a press statement proudly describing her activities. But she refused to answer HUAC's questions, to avoid the

process designed to force her to reveal other names. When she returned from Washington, she faced a *Chicago Daily News* headline: "Fifth Avenue Amendment Comes to Archer Avenue." A mob led by the American Legion forced her eviction from the beauty shop she ran.

She moved to Chicago, where she was a constant supporter of desegregation struggles in the '50s and the '60s. She was involved in the campaign against the legal lynchings of Willie McGee and the Martinsville Seven. In her long association with the Womens' International League for Peace and Freedom, she became their legislative chair.

She showed an amazing lack of concern for her own problems, and she approached her death with a lack of morbid self-preoccupation. Those of us working at the hospital had rarely seen anyone so prepared to die.

Florence had a phrase for those not sharing her impatience for a better society: "They're useless." Not good or bad, just "useless." Florence's usefulness will be missed by many. ■

*Donations in memory of Florence Gowgiel may be sent to the Committee to Save Cook County Hospital, 37 S. Wabash 7th floor, Chicago, Ill. 60603.*

*This article was based on a memorial meeting held by 15 of her friends, and it was edited by Gordon Schiff.*



## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



## CARIBBEAN ARTS FESTIVAL

## Carifesta: "All of we is one."

By Ian Smart

The Third Caribbean Festival of the Creative Arts was held this July in Cuba. There had been two such festivals before: the first in Guyana in 1972, and the second four years later in Jamaica. However, Cuba's Carifesta was in many respects the most important of the three.

The form of Carifesta '79 suggests two levels of focus on a pan-Caribbean spirit. One is the popular, demonstrated in the entertainment and performing arts. The other is the philosophic or academic, articulated during a two-day symposium on "Caribbean Cultural Identity," which constituted the core of the festival.

Havana residents celebrated the discovery of common Afro-Caribbean cultural traditions with their guests. One heard repeatedly that a dance performed by this or that village group from Trinidad, the Bahamas or St. Vincent was similar in every detail to some traditional Cuban dance. We Cuban visitors were likewise surprised by the similarity of Cuban carnival motifs to those of other carnivals in the Caribbean. Many of us came to an appreciation of the popular saying: "All of we is one."

This discovery of Afro-based cultural unity was not reflected with the same enthusiasm by Carifesta officialdom. The much-publicized motto of this year's festival was: "*Un arcoiris de pueblos, un mismo sol caribeno*" (A rainbow of peoples, a single Caribbean sun). The motto seemed to speak of unity in diversity.

Diversity lies in national cultures, many of them owing richness to their African heritage combined with European, Amerindian and even Asiatic heritages. The Cubans seemed to be reluctant, however, to stress the African traditions. Consider the five "patrons" of Carifesta '79—Marcus Garvey, Simon Bolivar, Benito Juarez, Jose Marti and Toussant L'Ouverture. Knowledge of Bolivar's views on blacks would lead one to question the appropriateness of choosing him for patron of this group; and the Mexican national hero Juarez

"You get to realize," said a singer from Grenada, "That you're a citizen of a Caribbean community."

cannot be considered a Caribbean figure even in the broadest sense of the term.

Cuban and other more traditionally "Latin American" delegates quickly leapt from the particular to the universal in their remarks. Armando Hart, Cuban

Minister of Culture, said at the opening ceremonies, "Caribbean cultural identity is a part of the cultural identity of Latin America and the Caribbean, in a harmonious and not in an antagonistic way, in unity and not in rivalry, not denying what is typical in each

of the specific national cultures of our homelands, but starting from what is nationally ours."

This stress on tolerance and respect for national autonomies was timely and consistent with other Cuban positions in international politics. This "univer-

symposium  
on caribbean  
cultural  
identity

simposio  
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## Music mix made it the Bay of Gigs

By Danny Schechter

The hottest musical festival to ever hit the Caribbean drew more than 2000 artists from 25 countries. Organized to promote the region's cultural unity and help its diverse societies forge some basis of a common identity, Carifesta attracted singers, dancers, intellectuals and tourists from all over the Caribbean basin.

For a week they cooked—in the oppressive muggy heat of a boiling Cuban July and on at least eight stages nightly. There were drummers and calypso songsmiths; reggae revolutionaries and folkloric ensembles; a touch of Latin dance music and steel bands that played Bach. There was the patois of the Jamaicans and the polished French of the Martinican intellectuals. Panamanians belted out love ballads from another era, and Dutch-accented Spanish could be heard in the poetry of Surinam. The Guyanese, who had launched the first Carifesta back in 1972, sent a small army of several hundred entertainers, while a contingent of Sandinistas from Nicaragua sang revolutionary songs.

And everywhere there were the Cubans. Carifesta added a dimension to the celebration taking place this year of the twentieth

anniversary of the country's liberation. For their leaders, the Carifesta was one more sign that the American government's attempt to isolate Cuba from its neighbors had failed. There was also the hope that this cultural exchange might foreshadow closer political and economic ties.

The many nightly shows were uneven from an artistic and technical viewpoint. Great talent was showcased alongside grade-B acts that sounded like refugees from the bars in tourist hotels. Some presentations, especially those performed for Cuban television in the huge, frigidly air-conditioned and thickly carpeted Karl Marx Theatre (known locally as the Carlos Marx) were overly formal and conspicuous for their lack of audience involvement.

But where else could one be exposed to such a diverse cluster of talent and musical styles? At one four-hour sitting, you could sample Brazilian vocalists, Mexican Mariachi singers complete with rope-trick artists, Jamaica's commercially accomplished reggae ensemble The Fabulous Five, and Freddy Reina, Venezuela's world-famous master of the small guitar known as the Truth Tones from the small island of St. Lucia were as tight as any U.S. rhythm and blues outfit, while a Trinidadian calypso singer who in-

triguingly called himself "Black Stalin" was awful musically but visually exciting.

Each program also spotlighted a Cuban band. While Cuba has its share of old-fashioned Xavier Cugat-type dance orchestras, it also has an exceptional mix of other styles, ranging from the traditional *trova*, or song movement, to the flashy antics of a big band known as the Aragon Orchestra through the totally modern and Weather Reportish fusion sounds of Los Irakere, the one Cuban band with a CBS recording contract. One could also hear politically focused folk ensembles and experimental music groups like Grupo Moncada or Sylvio Rodriguez.

Cuban youth are also into rock'n'roll and disco. Contrary to Chet Flippo's recent superficial and hostile report in *Rolling Stone*, which depicted Cuba as a cultural prison, I encountered many young people who identify with the Revolution and also like contemporary American music. A number of clubs play rock, and I checked out several discos that alternated Latin music with up-to-date disco hits. "Los Behays" (the Bee Gees) are very popular and the Cuban press featured a series of articles analyzing the meaning of *Saturday Night Fever*, which was playing

salist" perspective, however, is too unwieldy to provide a functional basis for the understanding and definition of Caribbean cultural identity and unity. Also, it reflects a marked timidity towards the question of the African heritage.

This reticence was not shared by the majority of the delegates from the rest of the Caribbean island nations. Jamaica's Rex Nettleford, author, political scientist, choreographer, dancer, and university professor, contended that for Marxism to be faithful to the historical reality, race and ethnicity must be worked into it. Caribbean man must be race conscious without being racist. Edward Brathwaite, born in Barbados and one of the Caribbean's foremost contemporary poets, stirringly demonstrated that the African heritage is the most important active force in the Caribbean cultural dynamic.

A further example of this clash of visions presented itself in a session for Caribbean prose writers, when the question of the use of Creole languages as a literary medium was raised. The Cubans' reluctance to dwell on the African heritage impaired their understanding of this question, a sensitive and vital one for participants from parts of the Caribbean where English, French and Dutch have been traditionally the "cultured" languages. Martinican novelist Edouard Glissant claimed that Creole languages and other cultural legacies from Africa, far from being a source of barriers between the various Caribbean peoples, are, thus far, the only paths to unity. A fertile field of dialogue was thus established, since the discussions revealed conflicting positions clearly.

The next festival will be held in Barbados in three years' time. It is to be hoped that its organizers will follow Cuba's example. Symposium participants left with a firm resolve to ensure Carifesta's survival as a shaping force in Caribbean cultural life.

Ian Smart teaches in the Department of Romance Languages at Howard University.

in Havana theaters.

On the night I joined the festivities, the Seiko Masters from Surinam, formerly Dutch Guiana on the South American mainland, provided dance music for the crowd, which responded with a variety of national dance steps. When they finished, people filled the courtyard to hear and watch Mexican folk dancers, followed by Guyana's "Yoruba People," who had the crowd jumping to reggae tunes that soon fused into disco. People were still boogieing when I split at 5 a.m.

"This is fantastic," a singer from Grenada, the small island that had its own revolution last March, told me. "What's great about this is that you get to realize that you just don't live on one island but that you are a citizen of a Caribbean community."

A more immediate political reality had the Carifesta continually buzzing. Nicaragua's "tyrant," as he was referred to without quotes in the Cuban press, fell during the week. Banner headlines cheered the insurrection against Somoza, and a small group of Sandinista singers traveled from theater to theater with a program of militant music.

Politically and culturally, Carifesta was an affirmation of a growing Caribbean consciousness.



## VIDEO FOCUS

CETA funds play  
Medici to artists'  
songs and dances

By Joshua Kornbluth

"The Federal Artist," an hour-long documentary that had its Aug. 12 premiere on New York's WNET and is available to PBS stations, states the case for government funding of the arts. It focuses on New York City's Cultural Council Foundation (CCF) Artists Project, which employs 325 previously out-of-work musicians, painters, dancers, poets, actors, shutter-clickers and mask molders, and sends them forth into art-starved communities to play their crafts. The CCF Artists Project is the largest of the organizations that have sprung up across the country to administer the \$100 million or so allocated for artists under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), the most extensive public works program since the WPA of the '30s.

Producer Marc Levin and director Emilio Murillo of the CETA-funded Media Works let the artists show us their work. One artist gives instruction at a grade school, another at an old age home. The terrific Jazzmobile Jazz Band sends up the Riker's Island Prison, while the Philharmonia Orchestra of New York tosses off some baroque riffs at a Brooklyn hospital.

Seventy-four-year-old Joseph Delaney describes the adaptability that has enabled him to keep painting through many decades: "I've never lived off my art altogether. Sometimes I teach, and I sell. I've had to fall back on welfare, [on] being a portrait artist—all kinds of things."

"If I speak of the similarities between WPA and the CETA project," says Delaney, "it's in the context of the CETA being a more advanced program, with less bureaucracy than the WPA. And CETA, in my opinion, is still getting its feet on the ground."

Plenty of other CETA artists share Delaney's disposition toward the Artists Project. And why shouldn't they? "I take this check every two weeks, and I cash it and I pay my bills with it," photographer Francene Keery says simply.

Charles ("Cookie") Cook, a

tap-dancing performer from the Vaudeville days, steals the show. A man of effortless grace, witty compassion, and a trillion steps, he appears on the screen four times during the hour—on the Staten Island Ferry and on some block in Manhattan with his CETA partner Jane Goldberg, in the memory-laden Apollo Theater, and teaching a class somewhere ("This is called a 'B.S. Course.' Now, it *don't* stand for 'Bachelor of Science!'"").

The application process for the Artists Project, like most others, requires the aspiring government employee to go through a song and dance to get a good job. First of all, since the CETA program was originally intended to provide jobs for the "hard-core," semi-skilled unemployed—and not jobless bassoonists—each artist must be certified by the Department of Employment as satisfactorily weak and starving. The applicant who survives that screening is then invited to emerge from the gutter and present his or her wares—a five-painting portfolio, some poems, a convincing tantrum—before a panel of artists. Finally, the CCF selects the winners from among the panel's final recommendations.

**Artistic freedom.**

Nice as it is that the feds pay these artists, there are times when the artists feel they are being pushed too hard by the hand that feeds them. And there's the rub: as someone in the documentary points out, "The artist wants freedom" while the administrators of a project like CETA want "products, a certain kind of visibility; they want things to happen that they can put numbers on."

Artists Project director Rochelle Slovin counters with the persuasive argument that government funding of the arts is "not a happy business," but is nonetheless a long-standing fact of life that, she implies, artists should learn to live with. "The Medicis were government," says Slovin, "the Church was government, and Pericles was government...in fact, art is an expensive thing. It is either a luxury for a very small upper class, which it has been throughout history, or it reaches

the masses through some form of government like the church."

Even with enough CETA funds to employ about 10,000 artists nationwide, there will still be plenty who cannot pay their electric bills. CETA artists, meanwhile, are hired for 18 months, tops. And those who started working in March are being paid \$8,690 instead of the original ten grand a year because of a cut-back by Congress.

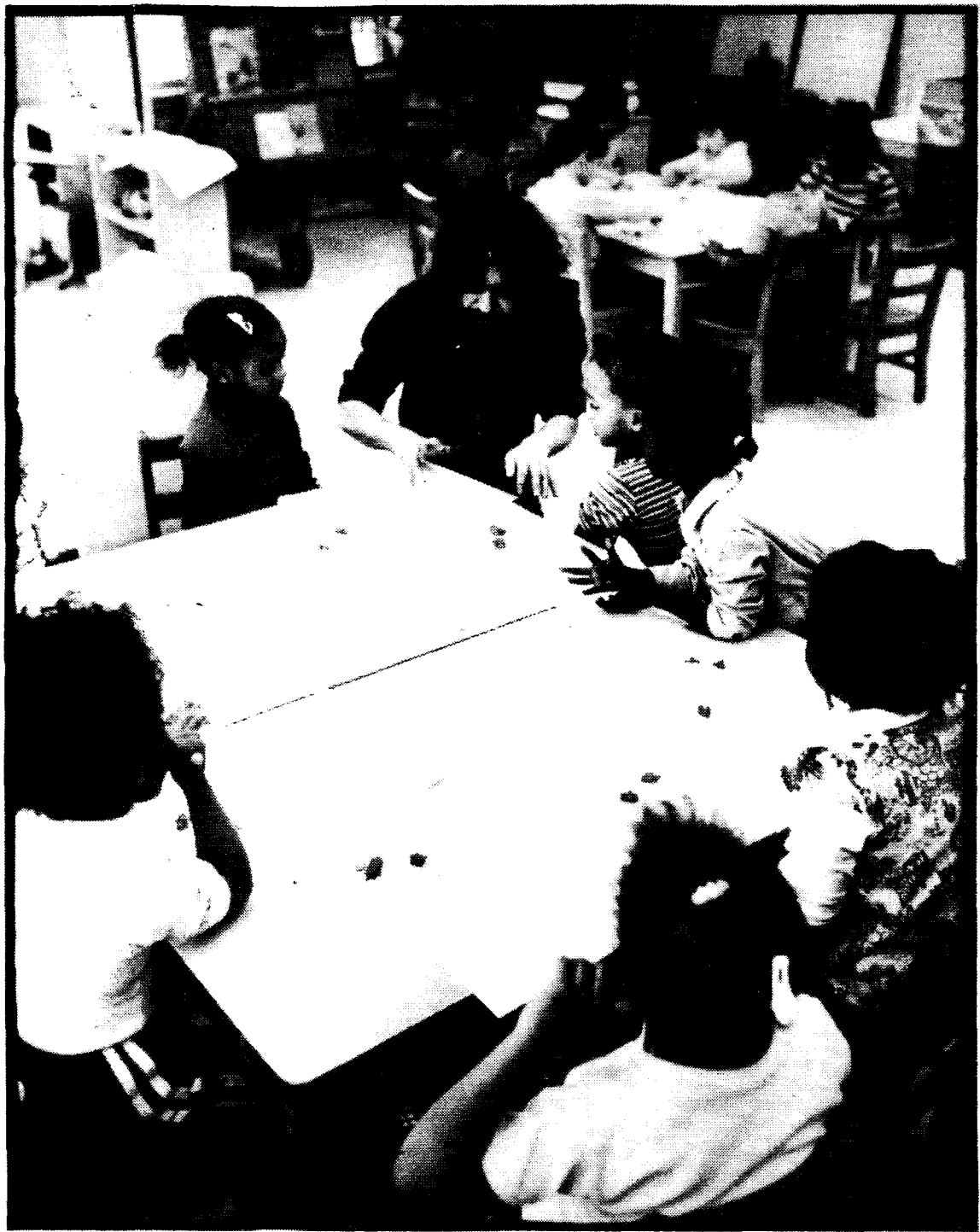
Marguerite Munch, who presides over a painting class at the Sirovitch Senior Citizen Center, muses on the struggling artist's place in society: "It's not the *artists* who are exploited, it's *poor people* who are exploited. And I'm part of the poor people."

Her point is brought home forcefully in the documentary, as the camera brings us to a show of her students' work. These elderly people, so proud of their paintings, are appalled by the imminent prospect of Munch's 18-month CETA term running out.

"We all signed a petition trying to get her back here," says Sam Bernstein, whose long-overdue painting career was launched by Munch. "I know if she don't—well, there's a lot of pupils who are gonna be lost here, you know? Cause it relaxes ya, it takes away that tension. Why, I'm 84 now, and maybe I wouldn't have been here if it wasn't for art. Cause when I retired, I really didn't know what to do. I went in for art lessons, and I've been at it ever since."

The documentary could use a narrator to set up each vignette and to connect the various real-life scenes and performances into a cohesive whole. It is sometimes impossible to tell what exactly is going on.

From this entertaining and sometimes confusing documentary we get the message that the CETA Title VI program is, while not a quantum leap, at least a step in the right direction.



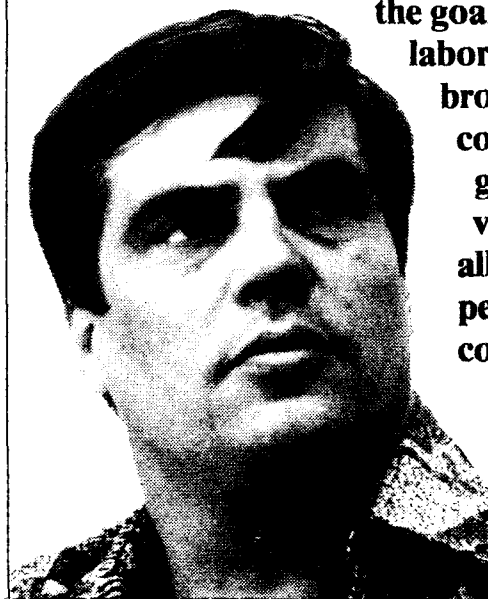
A CETA-funded poet teaches at a New York day-care center.

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## Eugene V. Debs biography

By Stan Rosen

*Debs*, a 30-minute videotape prepared under the direction of Bernard Saunders, the American Peoples Historical Society, describes Eugene Victor Debs as a social leader, rebel, unionist and revolutionary.

Historical still photos are combined with a well-composed narration, and organized in 11 teaching units. Topics covered include Debs' early life and his view of the U.S.; the formation and fall of the American Railway Union; Debs' prison days; and his socialist thought. Quotations from Debs are skillfully incorporated into the narrative.

*Debs* provides a note of enthusiastic optimism: "The little that I am, the little that I am hoping

to be I owe to the socialist movement. ...It has enabled me to feel truly worthwhile, and to realize that, regardless of nationality, race, creed, color or sex, every man, every woman who toils, who renders useful service, every member of the working class without exception is my comrade, my brother, my sister—and that to serve them and their cause is the highest duty of my life."

This videotape is a useful educational tool, to acquaint people with Debs' contribution to the construction of a just and humane society.

*The film can be purchased or rented from American Peoples Historical Society, 295 1/2 Maple Ave., Burlington, VT 05401. Also available as a record from Folkways, 43 West 61st St., New York City 10023.*

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## WOMEN'S FICTION

## British fiction reveals women's issues

**TALES I TELL MY MOTHER:  
A Collection of Feminist Short  
Stories**

By Zoe Fairbairns, Sara Maitland,  
Valerie Miner, Michele Roberts,  
Micheline Wandor  
London/West Nyack: The Jour-  
neyman Press

By Lynn Garafola

"We are not unique; we represent only a fraction of the women all over the country who are coming together in groups to leap forward from the isolation and social silence of the diary and the shopping list and the backs of envelopes in order to communicate to others via the alchemy of fiction the concerns of their lives as women and feminists."

With these words, Zoe Fairbairns, Sara Maitland, Valerie Miner, Michele Roberts, and Micheline Wandor—"women, writers, feminists and socialists"—sum up the aims of *Tales I Tell My Mother*. A collection of 15 short stories, this 18-month collaborative effort is the first of its kind to be published in Britain. It offers both a glimpse of the unique contours of the British feminist movement, and of the issues and practices that distinguish it.

The book is arranged in sections, with brief introductions, around themes that emerged as the stories were written, discussed, and reshaped. The first looks at women tottering on the brink of a new consciousness, when on the job, at home, and in casual encounters with society's institutions, awareness of their oppression suddenly crystallizes. Whether protesting the behavior of a bus conductor who crosses out "Ms." on a season ticket, resigning from a job because advancement is closed off or registering public disgust at the sexual exploitation of women in the



Third World, the characters assert for the first time control of their destinies as women.

The stories of the middle section are about "the Women's Movement as a spiritual-psychological-sexual-ideological catharsis." Above all, they are concerned with feminist process and the way individual consciousness is transformed into political action.

Stories like "After the Ball Was Over" and "Parallel Lines" look at alternative modes of structuring personal life. Characters explore new dimensions of sexuality through relationships with other women, determine the circumstances of maternity outside the conventions of marriage. Others, such as "Keep It Clean"

and "The Freedom of Rosemary Patan," tackle explicitly political issues—wages for housework and abortion. They probe, among other things, the relationship between a politics based on stop-gap measures and one directed toward an overhauling of society at large.

Part III moves beyond the feminist process to explore "how being in the movement affects the way people look at everyone and everything." In this last and most satisfying group of stories, women reassess the role of work, men and sexuality in their lives.

In "Afterlife" the protagonist is a sculptor, deeply committed to her art. "Radio Times" finds a mother and free-lance editor juggling proofs and afternoon

snacks. "Time, Gentleman" takes place in a pub where two men stand drinks to each other's "woman trouble" as they strive to reconcile themselves to a new order of sexual priorities. The volume ends with Sara Maitland's "Penelope," an imaginative reworking of the Odysseus story, in which Penelope recasts her weaving and chaste loyalty in terms of work and sexual freedom, analyzing them as conscious choices rather than behavior imposed by circumstance.

**Feminism and the left.**

Like its American counterpart, British feminism emerged from the political climate of the '60s. Unlike the U.S., however, where political energy has been diffused

among a score of issues, feminist debate in Britain retains its connection with the broad spectrum of the country's left culture.

This explains the strong sense of class that permeates these stories, not only in the introduction of working-class characters but in the emphasis on the economics of oppression. Equal pay, nursery facilities, part-time work and free abortions are viewed from a socialist alternative, framed as economic demands rather than constitutional rights, affecting the masses of British women and implying a major restructuring of society.

In articulating the challenge to "use the existing language to resurrect our submerged history and convey our current feminist perspective on the world we live in," the authors eschew the larger problem of feminist language and a feminist aesthetic. Doubt is cast on efforts to coin new words and rout old usages, a linguistic conservatism matched by the overall genteel tone of the stories and conventional forms of narrative. While this reflects the general temper of British writing, it remains a weak point of the volume that no attempt is made to tackle the problem of diction (as Robin Laker has done in her study of women's speech in the U.S.) or of creating formal structures to render the distinctive patterning and fragmentation of female experiences (as Belgian feminist Chantal Ackerman sought to do in her 1975 film *Jeanne Dielman*).

*Tales I Tell My Mother* nonetheless marks a significant step within the ranks of feminist fiction toward integrating the issues of feminism within the traditions and practice of literature.

*Tales I Tell My Mother* is available through Journeyman Press, 97 Firme Park Road, London N8 England.

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## POPULAR MUSIC

## Anatomy of an anti-disco riot

By Don McLeese

You can't beat fun at the old ballpark. On July 12, the always promotion-minded Bill Veeck, owner of the Chicago White Sox, allowed radio station WLUP-FM (known as "The Loop") to stage something called "Disco Demolition Night" at Comiskey Park. The plan was that Steve Dahl, the Loop's rabidly anti-disco morning man, would blow up a pile of disco records between games of the Sox double-header with Detroit.

Veeck got more than he bargained for. Drawn by the Loop's non-stop hype, 41,795 fans (more rock'n'roll than baseball) paid their way into Comiskey Park, and about half as many more either crashed the gate or swarmed round the streets and sidewalks outside. As soon as Dahl pulled his demolition stunt between games, hordes of rock'n'roll crazies stormed the field, tearing up turf and chanting "Disco sucks" at the top of their lungs. When the Comiskey Park crew was unable to restore order, the Sox were forced to cancel and subsequently forfeit the second game.

On the surface, the significance of the Comiskey Park fiasco is that whenever 50,000 or so young people gather together, lured by the prospects of cheap booze, gay smoke, and the opportunity to let off a little steam, there's a good chance for trouble. Place at the helm a self-indulgent DJ who recognizes no responsibility beyond personal promotion, and trouble becomes inevitable.

Disco Demolition Night aside, however, there's no doubt that the anti-disco backlash is a very real, very widespread cultural phenomenon. WLUP-FM in Chicago is only one of many stations nationwide to discover that sitting itself against the dreaded 20-beats-per-minute is a quick way to corner a sizable share of the market.

While some see the anti-disco backlash as an elitist suburban response, a subconsciously racist reaction against a dance ritual that has emerged as the music of the melting pot, it seems to me that the truth lies in the opposite direction. To the kids who trashed Comiskey Park, disco isn't a black, an urban, or a populist phenomenon—it is the height of effete snobbery, the ultimate in mindless narcissism. Disco is Margaret Trudeau, Truman Capote, Cher, and all their vacuous Studio 54-*People* magazine cronies. Disco is private clubs with hefty membership fees, exclusionist regulations, and ludicrous dress codes. Disco is that terminally hip uncle who tries desperately to be "with it." Rock'n'roll has always embodied an "us against them" attitude; disco is "their" music.

Further intensifying the anti-disco sentiment is the perception of disco as contrived, formulaic, repetitive music. Disposable culture. Product. While much disco is undoubtedly guilty as charged (as is much popular music, regardless of category), this is a phoney issue, one that has been popping up in various guises ever since rock began taking itself seriously.

If there is any racism to the anti-disco crusade, it enters here. While rock has suffered at times



from delusions of grandeur, black popular music has rarely pretended to be other than what it is—fun music, dance music, party music. In the '60s, while every third-rate psychedelic excess was defended as artistic self-expression, the Motown classics that sound as fresh today as ever were dismissed as assembly-line throwaways. The same mentality has

maintained that albums are Art, while singles are schlock. Disco is a singles' medium.

By now, it should be obvious that it's possible to create vibrant, exciting music within any framework. The Rolling Stones' "Miss You" was the steamiest track of '78, while the Kinks' very wry, very disco "(Wish I Could Fly Like) Superman" is this year's

strongest single. Conversely, the kinds of music favored by much of the Comiskey Park crowd—the numbing heavy-metal of Rush and Ted Nugent, the pasteurized "corporate rock" of Boston and Foreigner—are as predictable as the most uninspired disco. In any case, the anti-disco lament, "It all sounds the same," is exactly what they

used to say about rock'n'roll.

The good news arising from the Comiskey Park debacle is that rock still has the potential to galvanize its vast constituency into a powerful force. The bad news is that, as always, it is easier to rouse the rock crowd through empty-headed sloganeering than it is to unite them behind a substantive issue. ■

## Disco-disco—Do ya think it's funky?

By Tom Smucker

This is the last time the following soon-to-be-considered-common-knowledge insight about disco will be offered, so please memorize or clip and save. Insight: Disco was *not* invented by the captains of monopoly culture so they could banish rock, soften brains, and snort cocaine at Studio 54. Fact: Disco developed its own independent network for publicity and distribution, largely through the disco club d.j.s, with no help from the large record companies and no radio play. So as the giant pop conglomerates only *now* climb on the bandwagon to get some of that disco dough, don't worry about disco watering down rock, worry the other way around.

If Gino Soccio's disco album *Outline* is any indication, there's nothing to worry about—yet. *Outline* was the first record released on Warners' new disco label, RFC, and "Dancer," the first 12-inch single from it, topped the disco charts all spring. RFC got a lot of music-biz attention for being the first disco division created by one of the giants, and for bringing real disco people into the corporate fold, including its head, Ray Caviano (who modestly loaned the label his initials), and *Record World* columnist Vince Aletti.

The music shows no signs of a corporate search for demographics. This is not crossover: not disco-rock, -pop, -soul, -jazz, or -country-folk. It's just disco-disco, sharpened and redefined, in which Soccio, who lives and records in Montreal, removes his quasi-symphonic orchestrations

from Eurodisco.

Instead of having the disco riff (da-dum da-dum da-dum-dum) repetitions and variations (da-dum da-dum da-dum-doom) played by Euroviolins, and then guitars, and then synthesizers, and so on, Soccio states, restates, and varies the riff on the bass track. And most of the tension and drama that propel the cut come from variations in the bass track—in the many layers of piano and sequencers as well as the bass itself. While a spacey Eurodisco embellishment of flutes, synthesizer shreds, and female trio chanting floats on the treble.

On close listen these riff variations are tight and devilishly clever, like a speeded-up Kraftwerk (or even Steve Reich) crammed onto the bass track. Which may be why it's so compelling when you're not listening closely. If you do get hooked by it, the effect is not spare or cerebral, as *Outline* seems to some, but very stoned, as if all that bass is pulling you down to the beat. Not like an old psychedelic spaced-out guitar-solo free-your-mind high, either. This is a very low-down, very repetitive, druggy, body high. Compulsive dancing that's also frothy.

Eurodisco as a form allows play for the Beethovenish aspirations that have been around pop since *Sgt. Pepper*, but it undercuts the accompanying pretensions, since the artistic noodling has to keep 'em on the dance floor or it ain't disco. For a young (23-year-old) producer like Gino Soccio, disco provides a lively, ready-made metaphor for communicating with his audience and a musical form still undefined enough to be interesting to work in.

*Outline* brings Eurodisco closer to soul and funk, where the best disco is coming from now. "Ain't No Stopping Us Now" and James Brown's "It's Too Funky in Here" have more life in them than anything current from the Euromasters. Maybe *Outline* signals a Euro-retrenchment toward funk as funk finally stretches out and hits its disco stride.

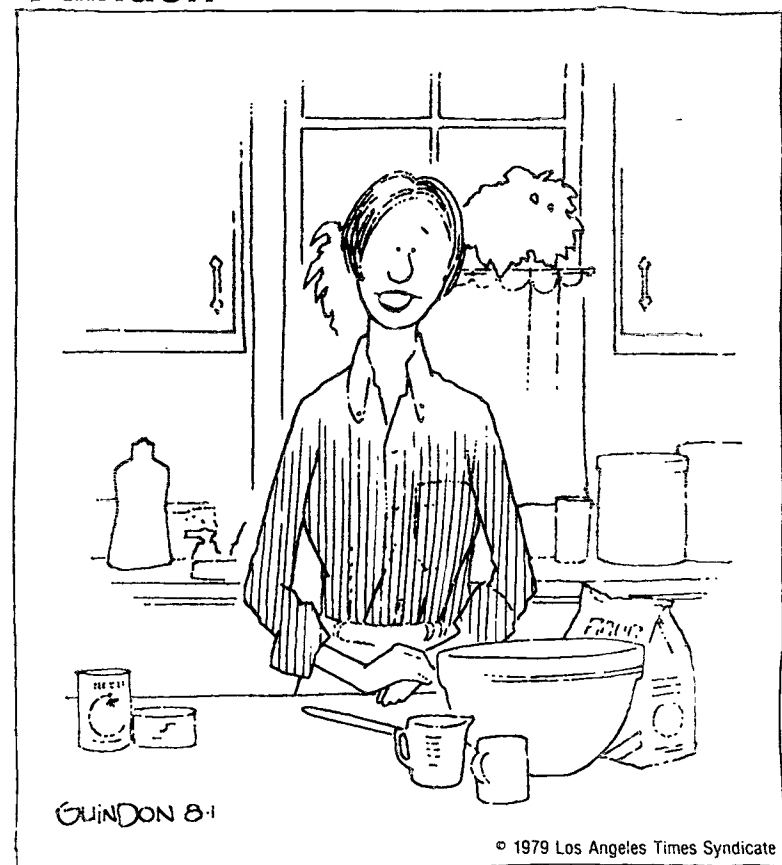
Gino Soccio has shown that corporate disco can be disco for the disco connoisseur and sell very well as that and nothing

more. But I never get tired of listening to it. At my giddiest it makes me imagine bullshitting about shared communal values in a way I haven't since flower power days. It crystallizes the ecstasies of the me generation so precisely it makes them transcendent, pointing toward a new model for previously promiscuous energy.

Oops, I almost forgot. It's only disco. ■

This article appeared in different form in the *Village Voice*.

## Guindon



"I worry about my family's health. I worry about their nutrition. But mostly I worry about talking to myself in the kitchen."



By Scott Forter

**L**ONG BEFORE PROPOSITION 13 was a household name, in 1962, Kirby J. Hensley, founder of the Universal Life Church, launched his battle against taxes in the name of religious freedom.

Beginning by working out of his Modesto, Calif., garage, Hensley has built a mail-order ministry that he claims has 20-25 million members. But Hensley's empire is being challenged by former colleagues who are planning to start their own mail-order church and charge that Hensley is the leader of a religious scam. And in Santa Cruz, Calif., Brother Keith L'Hommedieu, a disciple of Hensley's, has filed a lawsuit to contest the payment of his property taxes that could end up in the Supreme Court.

During the '60s, Hensley and the Universal Life Church (ULC) were perhaps best known for their mass ordinations of young men on the nation's college campuses. By donating just a dollar to the ULC, thousands of young men avoided being sent to fight in Vietnam.

In 1969, Frances Malamuth, a Bay Area community activist, met Hensley in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury while he was handing out minister's credentials to young men who wanted to evade the war. Malamuth was drawn to Hensley and ULC and in 1973 she and her husband James, a retired Occidental Petroleum executive, bought a church in Berkeley and set up the First Church of Universal Life—not a charter of the Modesto church—to offer community programs such as a well-baby clinic and job counseling for the unemployed. The Malamuths say that they used their church as a vehicle for giving money and assistance to the needy.

By 1974, Hensley had finally won his five-year battle with the Internal Revenue Service when a federal judge ruled that ULC should be granted tax-exempt status. Since then Hensley and the ULC have attracted the attention of newspaper and television media from around the country. He has appeared on *60 Minutes*, the *Johnny Carson Show*, the cover of *National Review*, as well as being the subject of countless articles. This free publicity coupled with the \$600,000 advertising campaign of Keith L'Hommedieu, a ULC board member, has brought fame and, according to the Malamuths, fortune to the "Modesto Messiah," Kirby J. Hensley.

L'Hommedieu, a "monk" and head of ULC's Sacerdotal Order, has placed over 200 full-page ads in national magazines ranging from alternative magazines like *Mother Jones* and *Mother Earth News* to *Family Week*. L'Hommedieu begins his full-page ad on "The Fastest Growing Church in the World" by stating that "The Universal Life Church is the only organized church in the world

The two "monasteries" are located in Rio Del Mar, a fashionable beach community 15 minutes south of Santa Cruz. Nestled among the trees and the private golf course, a mile from the beach, the monasteries were once the homes of the L'Hommedieus and the Stovers, both of whom are also members of L'Hommedieu's Sacerdotal Order. Each of the two monasteries could sell for about \$150,000.

Three years ago Keith L'Hommedieu was a successful Santa Cruz real estate

they send about 50 charters a week to ULC headquarters to have a charter number typed on them.

#### Gold mine.

Hensley compares ULC's success to mining gold and "this vein is getting bigger and bigger," he notes. Malamuth further charges that only Hensley knows what the finances of ULC are. Keith L'Hommedieu claimed he knew what they were but refused to discuss them.

\$50 tax deductible kit that will show someone how to set up their own church. "We want to return religion to the people," says Frances Malamuth. (The kit will cost only \$25 for ULC members.)

What the Malamuths' kit will say is that people don't need a charter to start a church, a fact that Mrs. Malamuth says the IRS isn't going to be happy that she's publicizing. Once people learn that all they have to do is draw up by-laws and apply for an identification number from the IRS in order to get a church, Malamuth contends that Hensley and L'Hommedieu—who sell charters for \$20 and \$200 (includes tapes and other material) respectively and collect \$2 a month bookkeeping fees—will lose their business.

However, L'Hommedieu is the trustee of the Sacerdotal Order of ULC. According to figures submitted by L'Hommedieu to the California State Board of Equalization last March, the Sacerdotal Order of ULC grossed \$180,000 in donations, \$95,000 in cash and \$85,000 in other forms, from May 1977 to March 1978. But a former ULC bookkeeper claims that over the past years donations to L'Hommedieu's Sacerdotal Order has been grossing \$400,000 a year.

From February through October of last year, L'Hommedieu sold off the seven parcels he owned and donated the proceeds of the sales along with the proceeds from the sale of his real estate business, and bank accounts to ULC in order to comply with his vow of poverty. Santa Cruz county records indicate that seven parcels sold for about \$440,000. Add to that his Rio Del Mar home, assessed at \$107,000, and the proceeds from the sale of his business and you have a figure well in excess of half a million dollars.

While he refuses to discuss the finances of the Sacerdotal Order—"It's part of the mystique"—L'Hommedieu admits that he is the only person who can draw on the Order's bank account.

In addition to the \$600,000 he has spent on national advertising, last April L'Hommedieu bought a small Santa Cruz church for roughly \$100,000. He has moved his mail-order business in and is remodeling the building so he can hold classical guitar concerts in it. L'Hommedieu pays Richard Stover, his classical guitar instructor, to be the Sacerdotal Order's musical director.

The Stovers help L'Hommedieu produce ULC songs and record albums. Rebecca Stover occasionally volunteers at a local home for battered women and designs ULC insignias and "Lifesuits" (custom made velour jumpsuits that go for a \$99.50 donation). L'Hommedieu has about a dozen of the Lifesuits.

Last May the State Board of Equalization denied L'Hommedieu a welfare exemption from property taxes on his monastery on the grounds that the Rio Del Mar home wasn't used exclusively



*"We don't care what our members believe."*

with no traditional religious doctrine. In the words of Kirby J. Hensley, founder, "The ULC only believes in what is right, and that all people have the right to determine what beliefs are right for them, as long as they do not interfere with the rights of others."

"The church has only one purpose: to help its members; no holds barred," asserted L'Hommedieu in a recent interview. "We don't care what our members believe."

#### Roller rinks and monasteries.

ULC claims eight million ministers and 20 to 25 million members who are organized into 40,000 congregations. But ULC also claims a restaurant in Maine that local officials would like to close down, tax-exempt disco-roller rinks, a mail-order tape and record business. And, finally, there are the two ULC "monasteries."

broker who ran a real estate business that employed 35 people in three offices. After graduating from Western Michigan State University with a business finance degree in 1965, L'Hommedieu joined the Army rather than take the chance of being drafted and sent to Vietnam. After serving in Korea he returned to San Jose where he started selling real estate.

But two-and-a-half years ago L'Hommedieu decided he was bored with the real estate business and started selling religion instead. L'Hommedieu mails out about 500 minister's credentials a week. Granted for life, the credential entitles its holder to all the privileges and considerations usually granted a minister. Many ULC ministers perform marriages, baptisms and funeral services.

While L'Hommedieu refused to discuss how many charters he sends out a week, one of his secretaries revealed that

While the IRS has recently established a task force to investigate all mail-order ministries, Kirby Hensley has the following advice for members of his flock: "Don't let them (the IRS) see anything that concerns the church. It's none of their damn business."

Hensley's opposition to the IRS in particular and the government in general is in accordance with his philosophy of life. "I believe in absolute freedom of religion," he declares, "and freedom of religion is to hold all the money you can because that gives you more freedom. Without some greenback in your pocket you ain't got no freedom of religion."

Precisely this brand of religious freedom inspired the Malamuths and their First Church of Universal Life to vote last May to break with the mother church. The Malamuths are starting their own mail-order service that is centered on a

for religious purposes. (L'Hommedieu likes to point out that the monastery is inhabited by a monk, a nun, and two apprentice monks, ages four and eight months.) Jim Jackson, L'Hommedieu's attorney before the Board of Equalization, says that "A monastery is nothing more than a house with a certain state of mind going on in the heads of the occupants."

In the next month the Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors will be asked to rule on whether the two "monasteries" should be granted tax-exempt status. In New York state, where preachers' homes are tax exempt, 212 homes in the town of Hardenburgh have been granted property tax exemption. When one ULC member was asked by a *New York Times* reporter what they were going to be praying about, she said, "Well, mostly about taxes, I guess."